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[Part I

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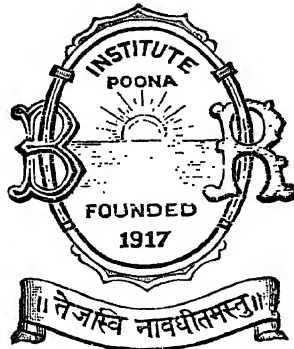
Volume XII

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Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona

VOL. XII]

OCTOBER 1930

[PART I

FORMS OF GOVERNMENT IN ANCIENT INDIA

BY

DR. R. SHAMSHASTRI, B. A., Ph. D.

We have seen how the ancient Indians had enjoyed freedom of thought and action both on social and religious matters and how the Vānaprasthas were as free as the air they inhaled and the water they drank in the settlements made on the banks of rivers in the midst of forests. As the four classes into which they were divided had been free to intermarry and interdine with each other, it goes without saying that they had no communal divisions and formed a united body politic. It is probable that the Vānaprastha order of life was not fully developed during the Vedic period and that during the Upaniṣad period it had its full development and made its power felt by the kings. Being an important branch of the Indo-European race, they must have carried with them the tradition and practice of self-government to India. Accustomed as they had been to the free political institutions of their ancestors, there is reason to believe that they continued to have the same form of government in their migration. Besides, their anxiety was rather to defend themselves and their new settlement against the Dasyus than to recast their traditional form of government. The study of the Vedas in the light thrown by the anthropomorphology of the Vedic Indians goes to show that they had no monarchical institutions. During the early days of the Vedic period they seem to have regulated the affairs of the settlement by an assembly of the people called

Samiti. Apart from a military class of people called Kṣātra and leaders or generals called Rājānaḥ (in plural) to carry out their schemes of conquest they seem to have devised no hereditary monarchical institution. This view is supported by the anthropomorphic features of Indra's rule and the co-operative support which the other gods gave to Indra in his work.

Like the Vedic people the gods are also classed as Brāhmins, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas. Indra, the Ādityas, and the Rudras who are all fierce in their nature are Kṣatriyas. Bṛhaspati, Śukra and others are Brāhmins. The Maruts are the Vaiśyas, inasmuch as they carry the wealth-giving rain from place to place and make the whole of the land receive its due share of rainfall. They all stand equal to each other, though during the time of war Indra heads them. Indra takes the first rank and is called a ruler in virtue of the merit he has achieved by performing a hundred sacrifices. He holds his position so long as he maintains his conduct and character. He has his own enemies and rivals. Whoever among men performs a hundred sacrifices (Ṣatakratu) or penance equivalent to it is considered to be fully qualified to oust Indra and occupy his throne. The Daityas, the sons of Diti, his step-mother, are his born enemies and ever watching for an opportunity to seize his throne and rule over the gods. Thus Indra is in constant fear both from men and demons and is obliged to be very careful in the exercise of his power both over gods and sages. With a view to thwart men and demons from their ambitious aim at seizing his throne by performing a hundred sacrifices or penance, he sends beautiful celestial nymphs to divert them from virtue to sin. But the unique power he wields over men, gods and demons sometimes, turns him giddy and makes him unconscious of its limitations. Once he is said to have treated Bṛhaspati, his trusted minister, with contempt and consequently lost his throne. On another occasion, a sage called Durvāsas possessing the power of curse meets him while he was going on in procession mounted on his white elephant called Airāvata and presents him with a garland of flowers. He receives the garland and carelessly puts it on the head of the elephant. As usual with animals, the elephant catches hold of it with its trunk and casting it under

its leg crushes it. The sage becomes enraged at the contempt with which Indra has treated the garland presented to him as a mark of respect and favour. He at once curses him to lose his power and render his throne vacant. On this occasion there was only one individual among men, Nahuṣa by name, who had qualified himself for the throne by performing a hundred sacrifices. With the unanimous consent of gods and men he goes to the heavenly world and ascends the throne. But the exalted position to which he has risen by the sheer force of his sacrificial merit turns him giddy and makes him lose all sense of moral propriety. He goes so far as to think that he has a claim to Śacī, the queen of the dethroned god, Indra. In reply to his call, the queen makes use of an artifice and asks him to come to her palace borne on a palanquin by the seven sages. As anticipated by her, Nahuṣa urges the palanquin bearers to hurry on saying "Sarpa, sarpa." "run quickly, run quickly". Agastya, one of the seven sages bearing the conveyance and a little shorter and older than the others, becomes enraged at Nahuṣa's insulting words and curses him saying "Sarpō bhava", "become a snake". Nahuṣa at once falls down from heaven, becoming a snake. At his immediate request, and prayer for mercy, the sage forgives him by putting a limit to the duration of his curse. He says that after he meets and carries on conversation on the question of Dharma and Adharma with Yudhiṣṭhira, a lineal descendant of his own lunar dynasty, he will regain his original form and return to the heaven.

There is however no reference to this story in the Vedas. There is an allusion to Nahuṣa's hundred sacrifices in the Brhad-devatā. Nevertheless the incidents of the Purāṇic story cannot be said to belong to the age of the Purāṇas when hereditary instead of elective monarchy prevailed throughout India.

The implications of the story are however the characteristics of a period when elective monarchy was prevalent. Corresponding to the Polytheistic form of the Vedic religion especially to its henotheistic aspect, in which prominence was given to particular deity in accordance with the power ascribed to him, the election of a man to power depended on the capacity he had to discharge.

the duty of the position. Corresponding to the class of warlike gods there was the class of the Kṣatriyas or rājās whose duty it was to defend the homes and hearth of the Āryans against their enemies, the Dasyus. The Kṣatriyas were all called Rājans and the elected leader or chief of them seems to 'have been variously called Adhirāja, Sāmraj, or Svarāj according to the nature of the power exercised by him. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (1.14) speaks of a period when the Āryans had no king to lead them to a war against the Asuras and placed themselves under king Soma. The passage runs as follows:—

“The Devas said ; it is on account of our having no king that the Asuras defeat us. Let us elect a king. All consented. They elected Soma their king. Headed by king Soma, they were victorious in all directions. ”

The use of word ‘ Rāja ’ in the sense of a Kṣatriya or soldier is borne out by the following passages of the R̥gveda :—

“Where a Brāhman meets with herbs like rājans in an assembly, he is called a physician, fiend-slayer and chaser of disease.” (X. 97, 6).

“Let us with our Rājans win victories and obtain wealth in battles.” (X. 42, 10).

There cannot possibly be many kings attending an assembly of people. Hence the word Rājānaḥ seems to mean soldiers or generals. In the Atharva Veda the word Rāja is used in various connections and it cannot appropriately be interpreted to mean a king. The phrase “Sajāta rājānaḥ” in the following passage means fellow soldiers, but not fellow-kings.

“Seize, Agni, on thy power and firmly hold it ; contend thou with the friend by way of friendship. Placed in the centre of fellow-rājans, Agni, flash forth, frequently invoked here.” (A. V. II. 6, 4).

Again in the following Vedic passage the word means soldiers or generals :—

“Make me beloved among the gods, beloved among the rājans, make me dear to every one who sees, and to Śūdra and to Āryan man.” (A. V. XIX. 62, 1).

“ Bestow splendour on our Brāhmans ; bestow splendour on our Rājans ; bestow splendour on our Vaiśyas and Śūdras and bestow splendour over splendour on me. ” (Tait. S. V. 7, 6, 4 & Vāj. S. 18, 48).

In Rg. X. 173 the poet prays for the safety and security of a king chosen for the time. Another poet prays in A. V. VI. 88, for faithfulness and loyalty of the state assembly to the elected king. The Atharva Veda VI. 134 contains imprecating verses cursing a tyrant and praying for his downfall. In A. V. III. 3 a poet prays for the return of a banished king and his restoration to power. The Taittirīya Samhitā (II. 3, 1) records a rite and prayer for the confirmation in power of an elected king and for the defeat of his rival. In A. V. III. 5, 8 ; VI. 73, 1, 2, 3 ; VI. 94 ; VII. 35 ; and XIX. 37 it is clearly stated that the troubles of an elected monarch were due to charriot-makers, artisans, troop-leaders, masters of the horse, the electors or king-makers, his kinsmen, and lastly the people at large. In none of the hymns mention is made of troubles due to sons and wives, a lurking domestic danger as set forth in the Arthasāstra of Kautilya. This state of things is in keeping with the inference that can be legitimately drawn from the anthropomorphic features of Indra's rule over gods and men. The tale narrated by the authors of the Purāṇas of Indra's rule is evidently a reflection of what had occurred among themselves on earth. The one vulnerable point in the mentality of ancient Indian writers is its tendency to belittle humanity and regard its volitions, emotions and activities as whimsical and as deserving of no notice. To them all subjective phenomena appeared to be no less chaotic and disorderly than the objective phenomena. The working of the human mind was quixotic. They could discover no law and order in its activities. It was a wild elephant in rut and no restraint was strong enough to keep it under control. Mind is common to all and ever goes astray, no matter whether it is of a sage, a king or a peasant or an idiot. History of a nation is nothing but a record of the activities of the national mind and is therefore disorderly. Hence neither an individual nor a society is worth of study. This kind of thought seems to have driven the ancient Indians to devote their mind and tongue to talk of gods, goddess-

es, their worlds, and their activities with no feeling of weariness and disgust. But it seems not to have dawned in their mind that in talking of gods and their institutions they could speak of nothing but their own experience and of their own imaginations. Their experience was entirely human and they could therefore speak of gods in terms human with a little exaggeration here and there. Even now there are poets and composers of songs who consider it sinful to praise even good kings. The late Tyāgarāja, the celebrated music composer of southern India, composed all his original songs in praise of Rāma and preferred the life of a beggar to the acquisition of wealth and power by composing songs in praise of kings. In doing this his consolation seems to have been that he had his Rāma constantly before his mind and that therefore his life was worth living. It follows therefore that the salient features of Vedic and Purāṇic myths regarding the political activities of gods are more or less exact copies of political activities of the Āryans of the Vedic period. Considering the anthropomorphic features of Indra's rule we may come to the conclusion that during the Vedic period the ancient Indians lived under an elective monarchy and that they had an assembly of people similar to the Sabhā or assembly of Indra. The duration of the sovereignty of the elected chief depended rather on his character and good conduct than on any military power on which he could never rely on account of rivals and factions. The assembly was all-powerful and could impeach, dethrone, and banish a king, just as Indra was impeached, dethroned and banished. All the classes of the people had an equal status in the assembly like the various classes of gods in Indra's assembly.

This state of things continued till the period of the Upaniṣads when Brahma-panteism was substituted for the polytheism of the Vedic period. The one impersonal power of universal consciousness called Brahma ousted the various limited personal gods susceptible of malice, envy, hatred, mutual jealousy and other human frailties. Corresponding to this change in thought there seems to have occurred a change in political thought also. Elective monarchy was replaced by hereditary monarchy. The king was styled a Rājarsi, saintly king, whose duty it was to

live a spiritual life and observe the ethical principles of the Upaniṣads. He has to work with no aspiration for the result of work for his own enjoyment. He has to shun all kinds of voluntary pursuit after objective pleasures. We read in the Upaniṣads of the principles which Janaka and other kings had observed in the administration of their kingdoms. On the absolute idealism of the Upaniṣads are based the principles of morality, and economical and political life of the ancient Indian. There can possibly be no better solution of the hard problem of unequal distribution of wealth than the doctrine of work with no attachment to the fruits of action ; nor can there be a better restraint of desire, greed and other passions than control of the will and the senses by Nivṛtti or withdrawal from pursuit after objective pleasures of the world. When once the disposal of surplus wealth by performance of sacrifices or by charitable works is brought into practice and when once the mind and the will are brought under control by the observance of yogic practices, there is neither the likelihood nor the possibility of any economical or political disturbance. The institution of the Vānaprastha order of life was mainly for the promotion of moral, economical, political, intellectual and spiritual ends. No spiritual goal is attained unless moral and other social pursuits are carefully directed so as to be conducive to the attainment of the spiritual goal. In the view of the ancient Indians all human activities are either intellectual or physical, self being a mere witness of those activities. Not knowing the true nature of the self and mistaking intellect or the physical body itself for the self, man is likely to absorb himself either in intellectual or physical activities and thus commit moral, economical and political crimes. With the realisation of the nature of self, on which the conquest of the mind and the will is dependent, there is not the least possibility of man falling into errors. This is the fundamental principle of Hindu philosophy on which all kinds of sociological theories are based unlike the detached theories expounded by the western scholars to explain the various phases of human life, which is after all an Unit. I cannot therefore agree with Prof. A. B. Keith in saying ' That the Upaniṣads do not feel any serious necessity for finding a place for

morality and political life ; while in the west from Hegel onwards heroic , if unsuccessful, efforts have been made by the followers of this ideal to establish morality and civil life as an essential in the absolute. '

The period of the Upaniṣads may be presumed to lie between B. C. 2000 and B. C. 100 according to the late B. G. Tilak and others and B. C. 1000 and B. C. 100 according to Western scholars. It was a period of peace and intellectual and spiritual activity following on the period of wars and conquest of northern India by the Āryans. It may be appropriately compared to the peaceful and intellectual activities of the western world in the 19th and the 20th centuries. Corresponding to the Realists, the Monists, and the Idealists we have in India the Cāravākas, the Aupāsakas and the non-dualists. In a narrow sense the Buddhists and the Jainas may be compared to the followers of agnosticism. While the number of different schools of philosophers in that period in the east is as great as that in the west in the two preceding centuries and even at the present, the conspicuous difference between the worlds is that while the east was earnest in bringing its religious and philosophical precepts into practice as far as possible, the west seems to satisfy itself with the mere exposition of its various philosophical theories.

Notwithstanding the absence of histories and biographies regarding the saintly life of Indian philosophers and true religious devotees who observed their religious and philosophical precepts to the very letter, there is yet enough of literary records to show that with the ancient Indians there was no wide gulf between religious theories and their practical applications. Confining our attention to historical personages we cannot fail to admire the self-less activities of Mahāvīra during the reign of Śreṇika in Magadha, the Buddha and his followers in Benares and other parts of Northern India, Cāṇakya in the court of Candragupta, Upagupta and his followers in the empire of Aśoka, Patañjali, the founder of the Yoga philosophy during the reign of Puṣya Mitra, the Jaina ascetic Pādalipta and his disciples during the reign of the Śakas, Vasubandhu, the Buddhist teacher, and his followers during the ascendancy of the Guptas, Meru-

tuṅga, a Jaina ascetic and Bāṇa and Mayūra, the celebrated Brāhman poet-philosophers, in the court of Harṣavardhana, Vidyānanda, Bhaṭṭakalaṅka, Jinasena, and other Jaina teachers, Śaṅkarācārya, Śivagnāna Sombandhiar, Vāgīśa, Tirumangayilar and other Brahman philosophers expounding the principle of self-denial on the basis of Advaita, Śaivism or Vaiṣṇaviṣm in the reign of Śrīvallabha in the south, Hemacandra and his colleagues at the court of Kumārapāla in Guzarāt, Halāyudha during the reign of the Kākatiyas in Varāṅgul, and Vidyāranya during the commencement of the empire of Vijaynagar.

All these teachers preached in one loud and continuous voice the worthlessness of the physical and the intellectual culture and the paramount importance of self-culture and self-realisation. It is well known to students of Indian history how Upagupta, one of the most distinguished Buddhist teachers, succeeded in converting Aśoka, the Maurya emperor of India, to Buddhism and in impressing on his mind the laws of Dharma; and how the emperor realising the truth relinquished the pomp and luxury of his imperial palace and found contentment and joy in living like an ascetic in a monastery. A perusal of his memorable edicts will show how after he embraced Buddhism he found it possible to live in peace and joy and to win the love not only of his subjects, but also of his enemies both within and without his empire. As a Buddhist monk he had no necessity to change his beds at night in order to safeguard his personal safety from enemies aiming at his life. Nor was there any need for him to increase his army and maintain it in efficient condition to ensure the safety and security of his empire. All this change for better in his life was due to his relinquishment of his sensual life which was worth more than the revenue of his empire and to his life of self-denial which was far cheaper and more enjoyable than that of a peasant in a hut.

Of the life which Cāṇakya lived as a Brāhman house-holder when the whole of the empire of Nanda with Candragupta, his nominee, at its head was at his feet, the author of the *Mudrārākṣasa* speaks as follows :— (III. 15)

"This is the stone piece to split into small pieces the dried cow-dung balls (to kindle the sacrificial fire) this is a heap of kuśa-grass by his bachelor students ; this is his dilapidated hut, the thatched roof of which is bent down by bundles of fire-kindling wooden sticks placed thereon for being dried (in the sun). '

The author of the drama was not however a contemporary of Cāṇakya and it is probable that his description of Cāṇakya's life is rather an exaggeration than a fact. Still it must be noted that the ideal of life which a house-holder has to live is of the kind which the dramatist has given expression to. A simple selfless life, even in an environment of luxury and pomp, is what has been enjoined in the Sūtras and Dharmaśāstras. Speaking of his own simple life as a Brāhman house-holder Halāyudha says in his Brāhmaṇa Sarvasva as follows :-

" In whose house there shine wooden vessels along with golden vessels apart in another corner, there hang garments as white as the moon along with deer's skin apart in another corner; there rises in volume the smoke due to the pouring of oblations into the fire along with the smoke of fragrance apart in some another corner. Thus the fire-ritual together with what may be termed its beneficial results expected after life is simultaneously visible. "

The luxury of golden vessels and costly white garments for which Halāyudha seems to have cared a straw are evidently the presentations made by the king under whom he was the chief judicial officer. This office he seems to have accepted not as a means to earn hoards of wealth, but merely as a social service, the only earthly end of his learning. The other and the only end of his life was self-realisation which he had in view and practice. There can be no doubt that the influence which a minister like Cāṇakya and a judicial officer like Halāyudha brought to bear upon the life of the kings they served not in their own interests, but in the interest of the kings themselves was for the good of the country at large.

Coming to the life of Patañjali and his life-works on Grammar and Yoga philosophy, it is unnecessary to say that he

benefited by his exemplary life not merely his contemporaries, both kings and people, but also the Indian posterity even to the present day. I have already spoken of the economical motive of Vedic sacrifices. Patañjali's participation in the horse-sacrifice performed by Puṣyamitra, as implied by his statement made in the *Mahābhāṣya* "we shall cause Puṣyamitra to sacrifice" goes to prove that besides being a Yoga philosopher not caring for sacrifices, he was also for sacrifices as an economical measure conducive to spiritual life.

It was as binding upon a king as upon his wealthy subjects to spend the surplus earnings so as to ensure public good. Besides the construction of wells, tanks, gardens, roads and other public works, ancient Indian kings undertook the performance of Vedic sacrifices to find an outlet for their surplus revenue. The other source of expenditure is enjoyment or pleasure-seeking pursuits. But instead of mitigating desire for new forms of pleasure, search for pleasure augments it. "Never," says a Sanskrit adage, "does desire for pleasure subside by enjoyment; it grows on the other hand stronger and stronger like fire with clarified butter poured over it." Hence the best way of getting rid of surplus wealth is in the view of ancient Indians charity or sacrifice. Following this custom under the advice of Patañjali and other saintly persons Puṣyamitra performed a horse-sacrifice and disposed of the surplus revenue of his empire.

How Kumārapāla, king of Guzarat, instituted under the advice of Hemacandra a number of hospitals and feeding houses to alleviate the misery of the afflicted and the needy and how under the guidance of Vidyāranya, the kings of Vijayanagara, Bukka and Harihara spent their state-revenue in the construction of tanks, canals, temples, mathas, agrāhāras and other charitable works is a historical fact too well-known to need a description here.

This form of ethico-political teachings carried on by the Vedantins, the Buddhists and the Jinas terminates about the fourth century A. D. and is followed by what is called Āgama and Pāñcarātra systems of religion and ethics. As already pointed out, this religion is Dravidian in its origin and Āryan in its

development. Having Śiva or Viṣṇu as a personal god, it is purely an idolatrous form of worship. In its ethical and philosophical aspects it follows the Upaniṣads. The Brahmasūtras treating of the nature of Brahma and of the principles of interpretation of the Upaniṣads are commented upon by Śaivites and Vaiṣṇavites substituting Śiva or Viṣṇu for Brahma. The political theory based upon this Agamic form of worship is quite different from that based upon the polytheism of the Vedas or the pantheism of the Upaniṣads.

As already pointed out, the king of the Āryans during the Vedic period was more or less a servant of the assembly of the people and had to follow its behests or suffer from banishment. During the period of the Upaniṣads he had to live the life of a Rājarsi or an ascetic king having his will and senses under his control or had to fall a prey to his enemies. In the Agamic period the king was merely a servant of Śiva or Viṣṇu in whose name he had to administer the state. In many native states in southern India it is usual with the kings to wear garments of yellow colour and put on a turban of yellow colour while drawing along with his subjects and other people the car of the tutelary deity of their states during the car festival. The king is the chief servant of the temple. In the first Dīdhiti of his Rājadharm Kaustubha, Ananta Deva, son of Khaṇḍa Deva, says as follows :— “ In the Śrīmadbhāgavata the king is said to acquire his right of ownership of lands of all kinds in the state (Sarvaprakārabhūmisvāmya) only in virtue of his having set up idols of gods in a temple. ‘ He acquires the ownership of all the land in virtue of his setting up idols of gods ; of the three worlds in virtue of his erecting temple ; of the abode of Brahma in virtue of his making endowments for the worship of gods ; and he will attain equality with me (god Kṛṣṇa) in virtue of his performance of all the three.’ Likewise in the Viṣṇudharmottara :— “ Kings desirous of attaining to heaven should in the Kali age set up cities after erecting temples.” Here the word ‘ cities ’ implies villages and fortified towns also. The verse quoted from the Bhāgavata lays down that a king who is desirous of acquiring the ownership of cities, towns and the like which he establishes should at first erect temples. Whoever is desirous of acquiring

such ownership in virtue of his being annointed as a king the erection of temples, palaces, and the like are mentioned first. In the verse of Bhāgavata the king is said to acquire ownership of all the land in virtue of setting up of idols of gods and temples. In this connection there crop up two alternatives : whether the word 'Mahipāla' in the verse means a person who is already exercising his royal duties, as stated in the *Prima facie* view in the Mimāṃsā sūtras of Jaimini (II. 3, 3) or any other person of the ruling caste, as stated in the conclusion of the commentary on the same sūtras. It cannot be the first meaning, for in that case there is no necessity for the annointment of such a person as a king. Nor is the erection of a temple etc. the duties of a person who is already exercising his royal duties ; for the right to observe such duties is dependent upon his acquisition of that power by buildings etc. Nor can it be the second, i. e. any person of the ruling caste, for in that case the construction of palaces and temples etc. which can be undertaken by any person irrespective of his caste and creed would become a spiritual duty of a Kṣatriya. The reply is 'Not so', for though the erection of palaces and temples in general be undertaken by any man, still the construction of such buildings prior to the work of laying out cities and villages can be regarded as a special duty of a person of Kṣatriya caste in view of his acquiring the right of sovereignty. In fact only such a person as is possessed of bravery, martial courage and other manly qualities befitting him to be a capable protector of people is regarded as worthy of being annointed as a king. Hence along with qualities such as bravery, courage and capacity to protect, the construction of temples and other buildings befits a person to be a sovereign.

There is no doubt that this new theory of theocratic monarchy was propounded and practised in mediaeval India. The existence of a great number of temples in the ruined capital towns of kings in mediaeval India, especially in the Dekhan proves it beyond doubt. One of the most interesting of the fundamental political principles that deserves our attention here is the question relating to a king's right of ownership of land and man. This is an important question that has long been exercising the minds of statesmen and politicians all the world over

and has not yet been definitely settled. The question is whether an emperor or his feudal chief can justly claim and exercise his right of ownership over the land and men in his state. This has been answered in two different ways. The Mīmāṃsakas or the school of the Vedic exegetics headed by Jaimini hold that neither an emperor (Sārvabhauman) nor a feudal chief (Māṇḍalika) is justified in exercising any right of ownership over the state land or his people; whether, father, mother or children or his servants. They say that he is only entitled to a fixed share of revenue in kind in virtue of his protective care and that the land and other natural things of the state are common to all. This is the conclusion arrived at by Jaimini and his commentators who have discussed the point in all its bearing (Mīmāṃsā sūtras, VI. 7, 2).

Quite opposed to this is the view held by Kauṭilya, the author of the Arthaśāstra. He says for example, that the king shall exercise his right [of ownership with regard to fishing, ferrying and trading in vegetables in reservoirs or lakes (II. 1); that besides collecting revenue, the king shall keep as state monopoly both mining and commerce (II. 12); and in view of justifying the levy of an extra water-tax (II. 24) his commentator Bhaṭṭasvāmi, quotes a verse in which the state ownership of land and water is clearly mentioned. The verse runs as follows:—

“Those who are well versed in the Śāstras admit that the king is the owner of both land and water and that the people can only exercise their right of ownership over all other things except these two. (P. 144, Eng. Tra.).

The view that is held by the Mīmāṃsakas seems to be the view that is still current in the transaction of the villagers in India whenever they sell a piece of land, they declare in the bond the transfer of eight kinds of enjoyment, such as (1) nidhi (treasure-trove), (2) nikṣepa (deposit hidden in the earth), (3) water, (4) trees, (5) stones, (6) agami, anything that may come in future, (7) saṁcita, anything that is standing, and (8) Akṣīpa, imperishable. This declaration is evidently opposed to the view held by Kauṭilya and other later politicians who held that any treasure-trove contained in the earth, any deposit of money and

the like concealed in the earth, the salt and other minerals together with water are what the king alone can justly claim as his property.

As the Mīmāṃsaka view of land-tenure is in agreement not merely with the history of social evolution all the world over, but with the nature of the political constitution which obtained in India during the Vedic and the Brāhmanic periods, the historical importance of Jaimini's view on this question cannot be overvalued. Hence I add here below my own translation of the Sūtras of Jaimini together with the commentaries of Pārtha Sārathy Miśra:—

The Sūtras (VI. 7, 2) are thus commented upon by Pārtha Sārathy Miśra:—

It is declared in the Vedas that in the Viśvajit sacrifice the sacrificer makes a gift of all that is his own. There as to the doubt whether even the cognates that are designated by the word 'Sva,' 'one's own,' are to be given over or only such wealth as he can claim to be his own, it may be asserted that in the absence of particularisation, all that is implied by the word 'Sva' one's own should be given over; for it is possible to render father and others subservient to others; the act of bringing a thing under the ownership of another man is what is meant by a gift, hence father and others should also be given over:— But it is not so; evidently they cannot be given over as a gift, in as much as a gift in the real sense of the word means 'the relinquishing of one's ownership of a thing and placing it under the ownership of another; accordingly (a father cannot be given over) for a father cannot become no-father, though he is given over. But only that which can be called one's own in virtue of his exercising his right of lordship over it can be given over as a gift; for, when such a thing is gifted, the giver gets rid of his ownership and the donee acquires it. Also the word 'sva,' one's own, means in virtue of its diverse significant power 'self', 'one's own,' 'cognates' and 'wealth'. Of these several meanings, it means a single particular meaning in a particular context. Since among the meanings, it is only the wealth that forms a

proper article of gift, the word 'sva' is here used only in that sense. Hence only wealth, but not father and others.

As to the question whether that which is the broad earth should be gifted or not the holder of the *prima facie* view speaks of it as an article of gift, thinking that it is the wealth of the emperor. But it is no one's property (sva). Consisting as it does in the protection of, and the removal of the wicked from, his state, sovereignty (rājya) means the collection of taxes from the agriculturists and others and of fines from the guilty (daṇḍya); this much is the relation (between the king and his state), but no lordship or ownership (svāmitā). Hence no emperor shall make a gift of the broad earth, nor a feudal chief his feudal land.

As to the doubt, whether a śūdra who attends upon a master as his servant in view of doing the religious duty should be given over as a gift or not, it may be said that he should be given over, in as much as it is inclusively favoured by the epithet "all" and also it is possible to render him subservient to another. But as there is no master's ownership with reference to him and as there is the possibility of dislike on his part to accept subserviency to another, he should not be given over as a gift.

In the seventh discourse of his Vivāda-bhaṅgārṇava, Jaganātha Tarkapañcānana agrees with the Mīmāṃsakas in the view that the king is no owner of the land and the king is entitled only to certain amount of tax on it, the cultivator of the land being by time-honoured custom its real owner with right of alienation. The context in which he states this view is the sale of the slave girl by one of many brothers, in the house of each of whom she is made to work in turn, as agreed upon during the time of the division of inheritance. The slave woman is compared to the land which may change hands by sale. The translation of the text is as follows :—

Brhaspati says that a single woman should be made to work in each house (i. e., the house of each of the brothers) according to the share of the inheritance. Well, there arises a doubt here whether the slave woman should or should not go to work on the appointed days in the houses of other brothers, if she is sold to a stranger by one of the brothers on the day when she had to work

in the seller's house, we reply thus: the purchaser has acquired the same kind of property right in her that the seller had in her before selling. Hence the purchaser had the right to command her service only for as many days as she attended on her seller by turns in the middle of each month. It is also for this reason that in the kingdom (country) purchased by a king, his right of possession of the country extends only to the collection of taxes on it; and at the same time there remains the right of ownership vested in the cultivator, in virtue of which he is entitled to the produce. Hence also the claim of a cultivator who cultivates a piece of land and enjoys the produce after paying taxes due to the king, to its ownership is admitted on all hands. Hence it is that when the owner of the land sells the land, the purchaser acquires the same right of ownership in virtue of which he is entitled to its enjoyment after paying the taxes due to the king; and that the cultivator's ownership of the land is never denied, as such denial is quite opposed to custom (vyavahāra). Since various kinds of ownership with regard to a single property are accepted, it must be presumed that the claims of two different persons to the same kind of ownership with regard to a property are opposed to each other.

Notwithstanding the conflicting views regarding the ownership of land, it is a historical fact that in those states in which a theocratic form of government was established with Śiva or Viṣṇu as a tutelary deity the whole of the state land is believed to be the property of the temple, the king being regarded as the manager of the property. In Travancore the king is even now regarded as a servant of Padmanābha, the tutelary deity of the state and is called Padmanābhādāsa. The kings of Vijayanagar called themselves servants of Virūpākṣa, their family god. The surplus of the state-revenue that remained after administrative and military expenditures are met with, is made use of for religious purposes in connection with the state-temple. The kings of Vijayanagar, the Colas, the Pāṇdyas and the Ceras seem to have spent a major portion of the revenue on temple-worship and on the costly periodical car festivals. Feeding the poor of all castes in the temples seems to have been the duty not only of kings, but also of the wealthy people. Even theft for the purpose of

feeding the poor in the temple seems to have been considered no punishable crime. One of the sixty three Śaivite saints is said to have been acquitted and permitted to take as much rice as he liked from the store of grains made in the palace, when brought before the king for punishment for stealing rice from the palace store, he confessed that his theft of rice was for no other purpose than that of feeding the poor devotees in the state temple. Nor there seems to have been any caste distinction either among the early Śaivites or the Vaiṣṇavites. It is believed that the Śaivites form a single caste and that the Vaiṣṇavites another caste with no sub-castes or sects among themselves. No distinction other than that of learning and exemplary devotion is ever made among the devotees. The rule of practice observed by them is "To him should be given and from him should be taken,"—This is the rule binding upon all the devotees of the same religion, whatever might be their Varna or caste. "Tasmai deyaṁ tato grāhyaṁ triṣu varṇeṣvayam vidhiḥ." The Rāmānujācārya's grant of permission to the Ādikarnāṭakas of his time to enter into the temple of god Keśava at Belur for worshipping the gods for three days during the annual car festival is an extension of the same principle, i. e., no caste-distinction among the followers of the same religion. This spirit of religious equality seems to have undergone a change for the worse under the lead of Vedāntadeśika during the latter part of the thirteenth century. Before his time the rule of equal treatment of all followers of the same religion quoted above seems to have been applied even to intermarriage and interdining irrespective of caste. Vedāntadeśika, however, seems to have restricted the rule to all other acts of social intercourse except intermarriage and interdining, and thus paved the way for the appearance of rigid caste distinctions among the followers of the same religion. The reintroduction of such distinctions in social and religious matters between man and man due to birth seems to have given rise to distinctions in political sphere also, and the Brāhmins seem to have claimed and received more social, religious and political privileges than others. The endowments of temples and other reli-

gions institutions seems to have been monopolised by them and the ruling class for their own material aggrandisement. This is however a selfish turn and abuse of the ancient ethical theory of action with no aspiration for the enjoyment of the results of that action. The later Brāhmans took themselves to temple-worship solely for the material benefits accruing from it. The kings tolerated them, chiefly because they wanted their approval of their own sensual indulgence, as opposed to the saintly life, self-abnegation (Rājarsivṛtta) in accordance with the ethical and spiritual principles of the Upaniṣads. They became lords of temples instead of temple servants. The revenue of the state went into their palace treasury for the benefit of women and courtiers instead of the temple treasury for the feeding of the poor with no distinction of caste. It is this form of despotism which prevailed throughout India when the British arrived here.

The evils of despotism are rather economic than anarchic. With a view to finance their sensual activities despots are always careful to maintain law and order in their states with as much rigour as possible. It was in their power to introduce such fiscal laws as would fill their treasury. By the time the Āgamic theocratic form of government was established in Indian states, civil and criminal laws were consolidated and regarded as being susceptible of no change. They were administered in accordance with the Dharmaśāstras. Hence fiscal policy was the only factor that was liable to change and disturb the economical equilibrium of the states. There were however three forms of restraints to check the autocracy of the kings: (1) the Religious (2) the Ethical and (3) the Political. The religious restraint of the law of Karma, according to which, any individual, no matter whether he is a prince or a pauper, given to sensual proceedings, is liable to rebirth, and sufferings from the evil consequences of his past Karma. The second is the loss of spiritual bliss due to the violation of the moral law of doing work with no selfish aspiration for the fruits thereof. The third is the disaffection and disloyalty of the subjects due to unrighteous oppression leading to war and danger to state itself. The first is dependent upon faith and the last two on reason and sound public opinion. A king going against public opinion is *adhārmika* since *dharma* is based

upon social imperative or command as defined by Jaimini in his *Mīmāṃsā sūtras*.

In his *Vākyaartharatna* Ahobala says regarding the source of moral sense as follows :—

“ But Guru (Prabhākara) says that so far as secular activity is concerned, whatever is fit, and possible to be worked out (*Kārya* or duty) as mirrored in the opinion of elders in society is (ought to be) a motive for work. ”

The *Naiṣṭhikikas* or the logicians define a good motive for work as “ *Balavadaniṣṭānanubandhi kṛtisādyatā jñānam pravartakam* ” i. e., whatever is not seriously harmful and is at the same time possible of being accomplished is a duty and it is as a motive an incentive for action. According to Prabhākara it is the public opinion that enables one to understand the nature of duty. It follows therefore that proceedings opposed to public opinion are immoral and are therefore ruinous. During the period of the *Upaniṣads* the elders in society whose opinion was authoritative and binding were the *Vānaprasthas*. No king who cared for the safety of his person and the security of his kingdom would forfeit the regard and good wishes of the hermits and thus endanger both his life and throne. During *Āgamic* period the pious band of temple-worshippers of the type of the *Śaivite* sixty-three saints and the *Vaiṣṇavite* *Ālvars* formed the home of social opinion decisive of good and bad and right and wrong course of action. Defiance of their opinion spelled danger to the safety of the state. Being of a warlike temperament, the *Śaivites* were ever ready to eradicate impiety and sensuality from the kingdom of their god *Śiva*, among whose servants the king was the head. Though naturally peace loving, the *Vaiṣṇavites* were not cowards in such matters. They were no less ready to put an end to impiety and sensuality in the kingdom of their god, *Viṣṇu*. Thus the religious, ethical, and political restraints which the ancients brought to bear upon the conduct of their rulers were no less formidable than the constitutional brakes devised to arrest the precipitate speed of the state-engine. In modern European states the king or the president as the executive head is made sub-

ordinate to the legislature and the judiciary whose independence in the interpretation and the administration of the state-law is maintained with scrupulous care and, as it were, with a sort of religious dread. The power of the peoples' representatives over the state purse is so unquestionable that the state machine can be made to stand still until the errors of the executive in their financial administration are set right to the satisfaction of the representatives. Nevertheless the economic evils even in the model democratic states of Europe and America have grown so serious that a new class of critics known as socialists and communists come forward and began to question the ethical aspect of the basic principles of democracy or parliamentary government itself. Seeing the growing poverty of the workers, the increasing concentration of the capital in a few hands, the consequent depression of the small capitalist into a dependent of the master-class, the extension of the market to the whole world as a unit with the resultant solidarity of labour the whole world over, the socialists have come to the conclusion that economic necessity is the real foundation upon which all other parts of social structure must be built. In his *Communism* p. 53 H. J. Laski says that "regarding parliamentary government the sceptic might reasonably interject the observation that we are witnessing its increasing rejection rather than its increasing acceptance." With its military organisation the modern democratic state has proved too strong to be destroyed as easily as the mediæval states were. Having the means of securing the good will of the people's representatives Capitalism has grown in power under the disguised form of imperialism. The socialists are of opinion that 'law, religion, politics, philosophy-all these born of the reaction upon the human mind of the methods by which men wrest from nature the necessary means of life. Hence those who control the means occupy in a society a place of special power : it is a governing class. In short society consists of two classes; those who control and those who are controlled.

As a remedy for this anomalous state they propose the abolition of private property and of the master class. Towards this end they propose the seizure of machinery of the state, to replace the official class by socialists, to repress capitalism, to substitute

corporation of workers consisting of legislature and executive for parliamentary government and lastly to keep the army in the hands of the workers. They say that parliament fools the common people.

This however seems to be a wild dream. Apart from the question of its feasibility and of its productivity of the desired end, viz., "From each according to his power and to each according to his needs", the consequences of Russian revolution are believed to disprove the theory. "Broadly speaking" says H. J. Laski (Communism p. 50), "there would not be much disagreement with the view that after a premature attempt at Communism the Bolsheviks have reintroduced some of the normal features of a capital economy limited, however, by vigorous state control.

From this it follows that form of government is least likely to change human nature. Whatever may be the form, whether despotism, oligarchy, or democracy, some grow rich with the majority remaining poor. It is a fact. Whether it is due to the Hindu Karma theory or to what is called heredity, we need not discuss the question. Taking inequality as a natural fact the ancient Indian economists devised the ethico-economical solution of filling the pit with the soil taken from the elevated land in proportion to its extra rise in level. As already pointed out, they proposed to confiscate the surplus that remains after allowing an individual what is enough to maintain himself and his family for three years and to distribute the amount thus collected among the poor as capital for earning. In his social philosophy of Comte Edward Caird says (p. 36) that "the higher must stoop to conquer the lower, by submission to it; that those who are morally and intellectually great should learn self-abnegation and lead the lower, that they cease to influence men if they try to dominate them; that a purely altruistic and intellectual being in whom personal motives do not exist would be best fitted to lead". We need not pause here to enter into a discussion of the merits and demerits of this economical solution. The main point under our consideration is the comparative worth of the political restraints and checks applied to arrest the precipitate pursuit of a wrong course by the state machinery. It is clear from the foregoing exposition of the ethico-political restraints of the ancient Indians.

as compared with the constitutional checks of modern parliamentarism that economically the mediaeval Hindu states fared far better under their theocratic form of government than modern European states under their parliamentary form of government. Neither in ancient nor in mediaeval India was there any possibility for despotic form of government to exist. The least propensity of a king to pursue a course of what are called seven vices, woman, liquor, gambling, hunting, etc., was enough to bring about disaffection of his people and give an opportunity to usurpers to seize his kingdom with the cooperation of his disaffected subjects. Such rise and fall of kings did not affect the condition of the people. It was a misery of the kings and not of people. It is well known that when war was going on between Tippu and the English near Sirangapatam, the people were engaged in their agriculture and other possible pursuits with as much peace of mind as if there was no war. Nor did ancient warfare dislocate the economic condition of the people as much as modern European warfare. The reason is that while ancient warfare was only between armies, modern warfare is between the opposing peoples themselves. Hence it was quite necessary to be vigilant and base the security of his throne on the loyalty of his prosperous people. Despotism with all its terrors and miseries, was unknown to mediaeval Indian states and it reigns supreme in most of modern Indian native states. With the exception of Mysore, Travancore and other few native states, the rest are under the worst type of despotism. Despots are human beings, and are therefore susceptible of at least some humane qualities. In their own interests they are sometimes kind to their subjects and it is easy for a host of sycophants and flatterers to flourish under the darkness of their dissipation. The causes of their despotic proceedings are not far to seek. The modern constitutional form of government with its wholesome checks has not dawned there. They are benighted lands ever in the dark. Of the ancient religious, ethical and political checks, they have all disappeared under the thunder of European sciences and machine guns. With the spread of the knowledge of modern experimental sciences, belief in transmigration, and spiritual pleasure was driven out. Fear of sin and of rebirth to reap the

harvests of seeds sown in the previous birth have received the name of 'superstition unworthy of entertainment by men of scientific education living with modern enlightenment. Spiritual pleasure is the dream of a diseased brain. It is only the idiots and the insane that do action with no aspiration for the fruits there. Sunk in physical and sensual pleasures, the princes have no time to spare to cultivate intellect and enjoy its pleasures. The princes are quite safe now and spend their life in pursuit of pleasure, at all costs. The seven vices are now seven pleasures for them. The whole of their state revenue is quite insufficient for them. They not only rackrent their people, but also mortgage their states for the sake of money to spend on the seven pleasures. This is certainly worse than despotism. European historians are quite justified in applying the word despotism to the form of government prevailing in most of our native states at the present time. But to apply the same epithet to the forms of government that were prevalent in the ancient and mediæval native states of India, before the advent of the Mahamadans and the British is not only unreasonable, but a positive encouragement to most of the princes to continue their wickedness under the delusion that their ancestors had no better form of government. It is high time that the princes should as soon as possible introduce the modern constitutional form of government in their states. It is impossible for them to revive the ancient ethico-political form of government or theocracy, for the environment and other conditions that were congenial for the preservation of their vitality have long disappeared and cannot be revived.

ECONOMICAL PHILOSOPHY OF THE ANCIENT INDIANS*

BY

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Like inanimate nature animate nature also presents various grades of level. High mountains, deep valleys, tall trees, small plants, and creepers struggling for existence on earth meet our eyes everywhere. In animate nature also we see various forms of life : worms, insects, birds of various forms, wild beasts, domestic animals and men. Inequality seems therefore to be the law of nature. Even if we select a particular species for examination, variation is perceptible. Among men some are born blind, some deaf, a few suffering from chronic infirmities, and a few others both physically and intellectually strong and sound. Corresponding to this difference there is also a clear difference in their life and character. Under the same conditions and environments some are found to be prosperous, some undergoing degeneration and a few groping in the dark not knowing what to do.

As an hypothetical explanation of this inequality in nature the ancient Indians expounded the law of Karma. As he sows, so he harvests. Every one is responsible for the work he does. At the back of every action there is irresistible desire preceded by thought. Before a man sets to work, he must necessarily have a strong desire for the results of the work. Before the rise of the feeling of desire in his breast, he must necessarily be conscious of the nature of work and of its attractive results. Powerful consciousness or thought is therefore the source of action. It is this eternal flow of consciousness that moulds such form of the body as will be suitable for its own translation into action. " The spirit," says the Bhagavadgītā (VIII 6)

* This is the fourth of the series of lectures read on the occasion of the 4th Anniversary of the death of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar celebrated in September 1929. The first and second lectures appear on pp. 201-234, 336-360 of Vol. XI and the third on pp. 1-24 of this issue.

"takes a body suitable to the thought, with which it is impressed and with the remembrance of which it has left its previous body." Cause and effect must be inherent in the same individual. There can be no effect without a cause; nor can there be a cause with no power to bring about its effect. One cannot reap the harvest of what another has sown. It follows, therefore, that the physical or mental deformity or excellence observed in men must necessarily be the effect of their past deeds, bad or good. It is probable that the conception of an individual's right to the fruits of his own labour is based upon this theory of Karma which is accepted by all the different schools of Indian philosophers. The alternative view that the theory of Karma is merely an extension of the theory of right may also be acceptable, if there is proof to say that the theory of Karma or of transmigration as it is called is later than the theory of right. Anyhow there is no dispute to an individual's claim to the product of his own labour. The product of labour, whether pleasurable or painful must belong to the labourer himself. If it is painful as in the case of some trouble or ailing due to overeating or bad eating, another individual will not step into a share of the consequences. It is equally so in the case of mental pleasures earned by mental labour. This also holds good in the case of material products of an individual's physical labour. But the difficulty of distributions of material products of labour comes when it is a co-operative work of many individuals. If it is however a simple concern involving no more than the physical labour of many, it is easily solved by distributing the product of labour equally among the labourers or by paying in cash or kind the value of individual shares to such of the labourers as have a desire for an immediate payment. In the Vedic sacrifices undertaken for the heavenly bliss of a wealthy sacrificer, the priests hired for conducting the sacrifice are liberally paid in cash. In the case of complicated work, however, involving learning, capital and tools, the correct evaluation of individual labour seems to have been as insoluble as it is now. The owner of an extensive field or of an oil mill seems to have taken the whole quantity of the yield by paying daily wages equal to the price of a man's daily food to each individual labour employed by the owner and to have accumulated enormous wealth. Thus

accumulation of wealth in a few hands with a majority of men living from hand to mouth seems to have been no less the fate of ancient society than of modern society. The evils of capitalism and the miseries of labour are as old as the formation of society coeval with the beginnings of co-operative industry. There is no society on earth, however aboriginal it might be in its stage of development, that has not suffered from the accumulation of riches in a few hands and the terrible poverty of a majority of its people. "Virabhogya Vasumdhara." "The mighty enjoy the earth with its unlimited wealth." God helps those who help themselves," are the proverbs that are on the lips of every capitalist. Most people are, however, in the dark as to the way in which one can become mighty or help himself. The means of acquiring wealth taught in the science of economics is not within the power of all. Nor are the principles of production of wealth as infallible as those of natural sciences. The economical principle that the rate in the price of commodities varies according to their supply and demand is not susceptible of as exact a mathematical proof as the law of chemical science that in water hydrogen and oxygen are combined in the proportion of two is to one. For, the conditions of chemical combination of elements are quite independent of human factor, whereas the economical principles cannot be divested of human idiosyncrasies. It is quite possible to lessen the supply of, and increase the demand for, commodities by artificial means. Thus where art steps in, there science fails. However, able may be the defence of the soundness of economic principles made by those who have consecrated their life to the study of that semi-science, the evils of unequal distribution of wealth are as patent to us as they were to ancient Indians. They were not slow to avail themselves of such remedies to those evils as common sense suggested to them and the ethics of Vedānta confirmed. The economical principle which, if strictly observed by human society as a whole, will undoubtedly put an end to these evils is taught in the fifth verse of the fourteenth chapter in the seventh skandha of the Śrīmadbhāgavata. The chapter is a dialogue between king Yudhiṣṭhira and the celebrated sage Nārada. The sage says that the economic principle he is about to expound is what an ancient sage known as Ajagara explained

to Prahlāda, the son of Hiranyakaśipu, and a confirmed Vaiṣṇavite. The dialogue runs as follows :—

Yudhiṣṭhira : "Tell me, O divine sage, in what way can a householder like myself ignorant of the duties of a householder attain to the high position described by the sage Ajagara. "

Nārada : "A householder, O king, doing all the duties assigned to a householder with no other end in view than that of pleasing god Nārāyaṇa should serve great sages ; hearing often the sweet stories of His incarnations with firm faith in Him and in the company of men with mind under their control ; having cultivated a taste for the company of the good, he should get rid of undue attachment to the company of his wife, children and other kinsmen ; being free from attachment to them, he should rise as it were out of a dream ; though as wise man he has no real taste for any kind of activity for the sake of his body and his house-hold, he should like a man of the world take to it ; he should with no attachment commend whatever his kinsmen, parents, sons, brothers, or friends say and desire ; he should do all this, appearing to enjoy all that wealth which god has created for him in the three spheres, the earth, air, and sky ; but (remembering) that *men have a right of ownership of only as much as is enough to fill their belly and that whoever aspires for more than that is a thief deserving of punishment* ; he should look upon the deer, camel, ass, monkey, rat, snake, bird and flies as his sons ; for what is the difference between them and his sons ; though he is a house-holder, he should not exert too much for the attainment of Tri-varga, charity, wealth, and enjoyment. "

It must be noted how the ethical principle of the Upaniṣads and the Bhagavadgītā that man should work with no attachment to or desire for the results accruing from it is made the basis of the economic principle or rather politico-economic principle that man has a right to only as much of the results of his work as will be enough to satisfy his alimentary craving, (śarīrayātrā

or maintenance of his body as it is called in the Bhagavadgītā. Man is a social and intelligent animal. So long as he is strong he can bear the burden of society and when he is infirm, the society will take care of him and his house-hold, provided the principle taught here is observed to the very letter. For the Indian philosophers whose ideal of life is the attainment of inaction with annihilation of the will the economic principle is a self evident truth deducible from the principle of rejection of the pursuit after objective pleasures. It should also be noted that it is the king who is here called upon to observe the principle. It follows therefore that it is a principle that it is applicable to all house-holders, whether priests, kings, merchants, tillers of the soil or labourers. The verse in the original runs as follows:—

यावद्वियेन जठरं तावत्स्वत्वं तु देहिनाम् ।
अधिकं योऽभिमन्येत स स्तेनो दण्डमर्हति ॥

Conveying almost the same idea is the following verse quoted in the Subhāsitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra, Ed. 1911. p. 79:—

वर्तते येन न विना नरो बाञ्छतु नाम तत् ।
ततोऽधिकार्थप्रणयी पृष्टो दयात् किमुत्तरम् ॥

Let a man desire by all means that, without which he cannot live. What reply will he give if he is asked why he is desirous to possess more ? ”

Another frequently quoted verse of unknown source conveying the same idea is as follows:—

अभ्युष्णात्सधृतादन्नादच्छिद्राच्चैव वाससः ।
अपरप्रेष्यभावाच्च भूय इच्छन्पतत्यधः ॥

“Whoever desires to have more than cooked warm rice with clarified butter, a piece of cloth not torn with no need to serve another man will fall down. ”

It is to be noted that the expounders of this theory of property do not at all condemn the desire and capacity of men to earn more than they need to appease their natural cravings. What they however regard as the criminal offence is the retention of the surplus that remains after satisfying their wants. In the view of ancient Indian economists true living consists in

subsisting on what one earns by one's own labour. In support of this view there is a verse composed by a poet—philosopher in reply to the question put by Nanda, his patron king, as to why he has been denying his eating his day's meal for which he has been provided for from king's treasury. The verse runs as follows:—

स्वच्छन्दतो निजगृहे स्वरूपीयमन्नं
पत्नीकराग्रचितं द्विजभुक्तशेषम् ।
भुञ्जन्ति ये सुरपितृनपि तर्पयित्वा
ते भुक्तवन्त इति नन्द मया न भुक्तम् ॥

“ Those who in their own house eat with pleasure the rice grown by their own labour and cooked by the hand of their own wives after it is partaken of by their twice-born guests and after due offerings are made therefrom to gods and manes are real eaters. (Such being the case, I say) O Nanda, such food is not eaten by me. ”

The ancient Indian economists seem to have been of opinion that the accumulation of savings effected by men after meeting their urgent needs cannot be their own property in any sense in as much as it is destined to go into the hands of others, be they wives, children, friends or thieves. The following verse taken from Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra (pp. 71-72) corroborate the above view:—

What a man makes a gift of and what he eats is verily his own wealth ; others will play with the wives and wealth of the dead owner.

What thou, O man, makest a gift of to the wise and the good and what thou eatest day after day, the very same is thy wealth, I believe.

The rest belongiug to others is in your custody.

Of moneys acquired gift alone is the safe custody : just as the over flow of water contained in a tank.

Of wealth earned by means of a hundred efforts and held dearer than life itself there is only one good end : it is gift. The other ends are calamities,

Gift, enjoyment, and loss are the three ends of wealth: what is neither gifted away nor eaten is destined in the third way.

The wealth of a man who neither makes a gift of nor eats it up will not be his wealth: just as a man's effigy made of hay and other stuffs guards the crops, so he will preserve it for others.

"If there is wealth, it should be gifted away and eaten up but not accumulated and preserved. See, O man, the accumulated wealth of the honey bees others carry away."

They were also of opinion that what a man can earn by just means is more than is necessary for him :—

Without causing hurt to others, without making obeisance to the wicked and without swerving from the path of the good, even the little which a man earns is more (than what he needs).

With the exception of the verses quoted from the Bhāgavata and the next two quotations of the same purport, the other verses are really beggars' sayings exalting the value of the gifts of money. None the less the sayings are philosophically and from Indian ethical stand point quite true and have a bearing on the evils and uselessness of accumulation. Besides gift here or elsewhere does not mean indiscriminate charity. There is a law or rule regarding gift: the Śrīmadbhāgavata says (VIII. 19) " The wise do not commend that charity by which life will be at risk. A man who has sufficient subsistence has to make gifts, and perform sacrifices and penance. Whoever divides his wealth into five shares and allots one of the shares for making gifts, the second share for the purpose of acquiring fame, the third share for future capital, the fourth share for his own enjoyment, and the fifth share for the benefit of his own people will attain happiness both in this and the next world. There is a Rgvedic verse to the effect that "Saying 'yes' (in reply to a deserving beggar) is truth and uttering 'no' is falsehood. Truth is to the self what flower and fruit are to a tree. If a tree is lifeless, there will be no truth in it, for its root has become false. Just as a tree without root becomes dry so a man whose self has become false will become dry."

Thus the greed to accumulate and possess the profits earned by physical or intellectual labour or by the combination of these two

kinds of labour is condemned in clear terms. Is then, it may be asked, life worth living? Will any one engage oneself in agriculture, trade or other occupations with no desire for the profits accruing from them? Why should a man marry a wife, if it were not for pleasure? It is abundance of money that can procure pleasure. It must be noted in reply to this that possession of money is not prohibited for a house-holder. It is only the Vānaprasthas and the Saṁnyāsins that are required to disown money altogether. According to the Śrīmadbhāgavata (XI. 18. 6) " a Vānaprastha should however earn his subsistence by his own labour as far as the place, time and his own strength permit and should never make use of what is brought by another. " As to the Saṁnyāsin, he is to live by begging. There is however difference of opinion regarding the quantity of money or grains which a house-holder is permitted to possess. The Manu-smṛti says as follows : (IV. 7).

" He may either possess enough to fill a granary or a store filling a grain jar ; or he may collect what suffices for three days or make no provision for the morrow. "

In his commentary on this passage Kullūka says " A store means what is sufficient to fill a granary which holds a supply for three years. According to Nārada it is what is sufficient for a year, six months or three months. " Regarding the way of disposal of what is more than enough for three years Manu says (XI. 7) " whoever has grains enough or more than enough for the maintenance of himself, his dependents and servants for three years is fully qualified to drink in Soma sacrifice. "

The performance of sacrifices is not obligatory in the case of those who have no means. Accordingly, Manu says (XI. 8), " But a man who, though possessing less than that amount of property, nevertheless undertakes the Soma sacrifices does not derive any benefit from it, though he has formerly performed the Soma sacrifice. "

Similarly Manu condemns the performance of sacrifices for the sake of fame in this world. " If an opulent man is liberal towards strangers while his family is in distress, that counterfeit virtue will first make him taste the sweets of fame, but afterwards make him swallow the poison (of punishment in hell). "

If a man does anything for the sake of his happiness in another world to the detriment of those whom he is bound to maintain, that produces evil results for him both while he lives and when he is dead." (XI. 9, 10).

It is to be noted that knowing the evils of accumulation of wealth in a few hands the ancient Indian economists seem to have taken the trouble of devising some means to eradicate the evil. The remedies they suggested are of two kinds; one is religious and the other is political. Men are naturally religious minded and it is easy to prevail upon the faithful to spend their surplus accumulation in performing such religious deeds as will ensure their happiness in the other world. The religious rites that are believed to enable the performer to attain happiness in the other world are of two kinds: (1) *Iṣṭa* and (2) *Apūrta*. *Iṣṭa* means sacrifices laid down in the Vedas. *Apūrta* means the construction of tanks, lakes, groves, rest houses, temples and the like. While a wealthy man is in a favourable position to enjoy happiness in this world, he cannot be equally sure of his future happiness in the other world. It is to teach him the means of attaining this happiness, the Vedas and *Sāstras* are revealed to him. Heavenly happiness is of two kinds: (1) Eternal happiness and (2) *Svarga* happiness. The first is known as *Mokṣa* or emancipation from the bondage of the world once for all. The second is transient lasting as long as the merit due to the performance of sacrifices lasts. Man may endeavour to attain either of the two or both. Thus the aim of education in the *sāstras* is partly economical and partly religious. It is economical in as much as it teaches the best way of disposing one's surplus wealth both in one's own interests and in the interest of society at large. It is religious since it diverts the attention of one from one's pursuit after material or objective pleasures to self realisation. This view is clearly stated by *Māṇḍanamiśra* in his *Vidhiviveka* (p. 441).

Man is naturally haunted by desire and other passions. Hence he is ever attempting at gathering together materials necessary for the enjoyment of objective pleasures by such means as will not fail to bring them to him. Hence he has set his mind on those objects to which he is devoted. Hence he is quite in-

capable of either understanding or considering the nature of true self which is beyond the objective world and which is taught as such (in the Upaniṣads). If however he is taught of sacrificial rites or charitable works (as a means to attain heavenly bliss), he sets aside or controls his desire for objective pleasures and withdraws himself from his natural pursuit after worldly pleasures and takes a firm stand in religious activities taught in the śāstras, with his senses under his control and with mind not pressed for enjoyment. He will therefore be able to understand and contemplate upon that true self which is beyond the world. Thus evidently the rites and charitable deeds laid down in the śāstras are to fit him for the work of understanding the nature of self."

While commenting upon this passage, Vācaspatimiśra says that though a series of religious rites is enjoined upon man so as to engage him from morning till night, it is quite difficult to prevent him from pursuits after theft, gambling, woman-hunting and other objective pleasures. Hence it is necessary that the performance of religious rites should be not only attractive towards the attainment of a higher form of pleasure, but also occupy him as a disciplinary measure the whole day throughout the year, and that he should have no time to spare to think of other pleasure-pursuits. While comparing the merits of Brāhmanism or Vedic religion binding upon the Brahmins, the Kṣatriyas, the Vaiśyas, and the Śūdras with Buddhism and other new religions, Udayana in his *Ātmatattvaviveka* says that the Vedic religion is an ethical and spiritual discipline, in as much as it enjoins rites upon every individual of the three castes so as to engage him every day from sunrise to sun-set from his birth to death. His profession to earn his subsistence is also looked upon as a religious duty and it is included in his time-table of duties. The other religions are not so rigorous in their demands.

Now coming to the question under consideration, it is clear that according to the Hindu religion no man, whatever may be the caste or class he belongs to, is ever permitted to retain with him more than what is enough to maintain him and his family for three years. If he is a believer in the Vedas and the Śāstras.

he must undertake such sacrifices or charitable works as he can successfully carry out with the surplus at his command. Such of the kings and emperors as have returned from their march of conquest with enormous wealth are required to undertake a Rāja-sūya sacrifice or a horse-sacrifice or a Viśvajit sacrifice according to their capacity to spend. In the Viśvajit sacrifice he is required to dispose of his whole wealth, mud-vessels excepted in charity. In other sacrifices he has to make a gift of a major portion of his wealth.

Unfortunately no nation either ancient or modern is found to contain people following one and the same religion. Nor there has been a nation in which the rich are not found to be either selfish or atheistic in their tendencies. This has however been the characteristic of ancient India. Along with Brāhmanism which consists in the observance of sacrifices, customs and rules of conduct as laid down in the Vedas, the Brāhmaṇas, the Gṛhya and Dharmasūtras and the Dharmaśāstras there were in ancient India a number of other religious sects who refused to accept the authorities of the above sacred texts. There were also the so called Cāravākas who substituted reason for faith. It is more likely, therefore, that the economic principles expounded in the Smṛtis and the Purāṇas to remove the evils of unequal distribution of wealth made no impression on the minds of the Cārvākas of ancient India. It is more than probable that the Buddhists, the Jainas, the Śaivites, the Vaiṣṇavites, and a few other religious sects observed the economic principles in some form or other agreeable to their own religious views. For though they condemned the Vedic sacrifices on account of their slaughter of animals, they were all for construction of tanks, wells, groves, monasteries, and other charitable works for alleviating the misery of the suffering public. They were all for making gifts, promising personal safety to both man and beast, for supplying medicine to the diseased and imparting knowledge to all. They were all for purging human mind of desire, and other cardinal vices, the root of all kinds of sin in the world. As expressed in a verse quoted in the first lecture, Buddha cherished a desire for life till eternity for the purpose of eradicating the world of its evils. The Jainas held the same views and appealed to their kings to carry

on the work of the four charities through out India. The Śaivites and Vaiṣṇavites turned their temples into feeding houses of the poor. Still there seems to have been a large mass of population which professing other religions and cults or following no religion was bent on the pursuit after pleasures and accumulation of wealth. How to deal with such people? This economical question seems to have troubled the head of the ancient Smṛti writers and driven them to the use of coercive measures for the purpose of maintaining the balance of economical power even among the people. Accordingly Manu says (XI. 14-) :—

“ If a man possessing one hundred cows kindles not the sacred fire or one possessing a thousand cows drinks the Soma juice (by performing the Soma sacrifice), one may unhesitatingly take from the houses of these two, even though they be Brāhmanas or Kṣatriyas.”

15

“ Or he may take it by force or fraud from one who always takes and never gives and who refuses to give it; thus the fame of the taker will spread and his merit increase.”

“ Likewise he who has not eaten at the time of six meals may take at the time of the seventh meal (food) from a man who neglected his sacred duties without however making a provision for the morrow !

16

“ Either from the threshing floor or from a field, or out of the house or wherever he finds it; but if the owner asks him, he must confess to him that (deed and its cause).”

17

“ On such occasions a Kṣatriya must never take the property of a virtuous Brāhman; but he who is starving may appropriate the possessions of a Dasyu or of one who neglects his sacred duties.”

18

“ He who takes property from the wicked and bestows on the virtuous transforms himself into boat, and carries both over the sea of misfortune.”

“ The property of those who zealously offer sacrifice the wise call the property of the gods; but the wealth of those who perform no sacrifices is called the property of the Asuras.”

“ On him (who, for the reasons stated, appropriates another's possessions) a righteous king shall not inflict punishment; for in that case a Brāhman pines with hunger through the Kṣatriya's want of care. ”

The verse that “ He who takes property from the wicked and bestows it on the virtuous ” is called a Nyāya or economical principle by Medhātithi in his commentary on Manu VIII. 143. This verse is said to occur in Steya Śāstra, a book on theft and is quoted from it by Vedāntadeśika in his Paramatabhaṅga II. It is evident therefore that organised theft on a large scale was justified on economic grounds. There is also an oft quoted verse predicting as it were the fate of idle accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few in the midst of a starving multitude of people.

Wealth has four kinsmen claimants : (1) charity, (2) fire, (3) the king and (4) the thief ; at the disregard shown to the eldest of them the three remaining brothers will be enraged.

The fire referred to in the above passage seems to be that which is set to the property by thieves. It is a common saying, that accumulation of wealth or means of living in the hands of a few provokes the hatred not only of their poor kinsmen, but of the country at large. In ancient times the attack of one nation by another was due chiefly to the property of the one and the poverty of the other. When war was found impossible on account of proper military organisation of a prosperous nation, organised robbery by either internal or external thieves seems to have been successfully carried on. When a starving multitude of a country suffering from unequal distribution of wealth co-operates with thieves and robbers, neither military nor police force will be of any use. Besides when economic distress becomes a national calamity, it is necessary in the interest of the nation itself to remove the cause of guilt rather than to capture and punish the few guilty persons or leaders.

The extent of capital which the ancient economists permitted an individual to possess is what yields a store of grains enough to maintain him and his family for not more than three years. Let us suppose that an individual has a family of ten souls

inclusive of himself and at the rate of half a rupee per member per day he requires a sum of Rs. 150 per mensem. This will amount to Rs. 1800 per annum and to Rs. 5400 for three years. The extent of capital required to fetch in Rs. 5400 at the rate of three per cent per annum will come to Rs. 18000. It may be land worth so much or an industrial concern, or trading fund. It was therefore an economical evil in the view of the ancients for an individual to possess more than what is worth at the most Rs. 200,000. Well ! What is the situation of the economical world now ? There are millions of men whose individual capital is worth from five to hundred times the above sum. This huge mass of wealth invested on agriculture, industrial concerns, banking and other productive schemes, is growing enormously and raising the capitalists to the rank of dictators in economic and political fields. It is true that there are many generous hearts among them who have contributed a large portion of their wealth to various institutions of public good inclusive of religious missions engaged in the noble business of religious and moral education throughout the world. All the same the poverty of the masses remains unaffected. Thus modern society consists of two classes ; those who control the means of life and occupy in society a place of special power, and those who having no means of life look to the former for wage-earning work and are thus controlled by them. The relation between master and servants does not seem to have any spiritual or moral tinge in it. Each seems to regard the other as a necessary evil, more so where they happen to belong to different races. Both the classes differ in their aims. The motive of the master is to enrich himself, while that of the labourer is to earn his daily bread. Both succeed in realising their aims. But the labourer comes to grief whenever he loses his wages on account of his doing no work during his illness or whenever the wages he and his wife earn cannot suffice for the maintenance of his growing family ; while the master is actuated by an inordinate desire for physical or objective pleasures coupled with the firm belief in the eternal perpetuity of himself both in his family and his race. The East cannot but laugh at this vain and foolish hope. The Babylonian, the Egyptian, the

Greek, the Romans—all these nations had entertained the same hope and fought tooth and nail for its realisation and security. With what end? The end was self-destruction.

Neither parliamentary forms of government nor scientific discoveries of new means of making nature subservient to man will save nations from the horrors of economical inequality leading to war and its miseries. The only remedy for these horrors is spiritual culture pregnant with the lessons of self-negation and altruism, as once successfully practised by the ancients in India. Instead of remedying economical evils war aggravates it. Let not India forget the spiritual means of avoiding economic evils. It is not the revolutionary propaganda of the Bolsheviks and Socialists that can give each man his due share on the surface of the globe which is an inheritance of the whole of mankind irrespective of creed, colour and race. Altruism, sympathy and fellow-feeling are virtues of the heart. Selfishness, antipathy and misanthropy are the vices of the heart. Cultivation of virtues can drive out vices and cultivation of vices can equally drive out virtues. They are the graves of each other. There are no other means of implanting virtues than virtues themselves. Nor are any other means of eradicating vices than virtues themselves. Hence it is the duty of all to learn virtuous habits and shun vices. Spiritual culture is the nursery of virtues and mitilarism that of vices. If the world is to be purged of its economical, political and other evils which are all brought about by selfishness, spiritual culture, the source of all virtues, is the only means. Let India cherish it and preserve it. It will do good not only to India but also to the whole world.

WAS KAUTSA A SCEPTIC ?

BY

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Ever since Yāska's Nirukta received the attention of Vedic scholars, the passage in it that has charmed them most is the one in which Yāska deals with Kautsa, who maintains that the Vedic Mantras are meaningless. Critics have so far discovered in that bold assertion the progress of scepticism even in those early times, and the very considerable interval of time between the Vedic Ṛsis and their unbelieving descendants whose scepticism is only commensurate with their ignorance. Thus Dr. Macdonell, while writing about this interval, remarks, "The gap between the poets and the early interpreters was indeed so great that one of Yāska's predecessors, named Kautsa, actually had the audacity to assert that the science of Vedic Exposition was useless, as the Vedic hymns and formulas were obscure, unmeaning, or mutually contradictory." (Macdonell's History of Skt. Literature, p. 61). And he proceeds to draw his conclusions, deriving no small support from this argument. Dr. Sarup, in his introduction to the translation of the Nirukta, treads in the footsteps of his guru, and improves upon the hints thrown out by him. According to him, anti-Vedic scepticism had become too rampant at the time, and that "Kautsa was an eminent scholar, or some great personality, or the exponent of some philosophic system, whose thought could not be ignored."

We cannot admit these views as correct. There is scarcely another passage in the whole range of Sanskrit literature, which, in its apparent sense, stands so directly opposed to its real import; or which has eluded the searching eye of scholarship for so long a time. It will come as a surprise to our readers as we declare at the outset that, far from being a sceptic or a heretic, Kautsa is a champion of that school, which is not only the most orthodox in its character, but which has entered deep into all.

the details of Hindu life. We mean the school of the Yājñikas (ritualists). And the meaninglessness of the Vedic Mantras is only a convention, a postulate, of this very orthodox school.

Kautsa, it should be noted, speaks only of the Mantras. But they form only one part of a Veda, the Brāhmaṇa being the other. To the Yājñikas, including the Mimāṃsakas, it is the Brāhmaṇa that is of greater importance, inasmuch as it contains scriptural injunctions (vidhis), which alone give life and vigour to a revealed religion. Such portions of the Brāhmaṇa, as are not injunctions in their nature, are called 'Arthavādas,' or glorificatory complements. And these latter are only an appendage of the vidhi-texts.

विधिना त्वेकवाक्यत्वात्सुव्यर्थेन विधीनां स्युः । (Pūrvamīmāṃsā i. 2.7).

It is needless to remark that the Yājñikas and Mimāṃsakas, who regard the Vedas as Revelation, never trouble themselves with questions, which modern Vedic scholars endeavour so much to solve. Their interest in the Vedas is similar, indeed, to that of the Schoolmen of the Middle Ages in the Bible, or to that of the early interpreters of the Quoran in their own sacred book. Thus, according to them, the vidhi-sentences are the most important portion of the Vedas, while the Mantras and the artha-vādas are only sub-servient to them.

We are not concerned here with the origin of the Mantras. But however they might have originated, they were preserved in an uninterrupted oral tradition mainly for their application to sacrificial and other kinds of ritual, and not as literary curiosities. In course of time, this ritualism came to have such a vigorous growth, that the existing stock of Mantras was found to be too insufficient to meet its demands. To make new Mantras was out of the question; for the old Mantras were already regarded with a veneration which, by universal consent, belongs to the utterances of enlightened Seers only, and to which any makers of new Mantras could have no pretensions. The Yājñikas, whose duty it was, and has been still, to conduct the ritual, found it therefore absolutely necessary to apply the same Mantras over and over again to different rites. This 'viniyoga' or application of the Vedic Mantras to the vari-

ous rites thus became their most important feature. The earliest reference to this kind of viniyoga is, of course, to be found in the Brāhmaṇa works, which are essentially ritualistic in character, and in which the chanting of entire Sūktas, and 'trcas', and 'ṛks' is laid down as an integral part of the particular rite. It should, however, be noted that the Mantras thus prescribed by the Brāhmaṇa are generally relevant to the occasion. That is, they purport to be the prayers to the deities, whom the rite aims at propitiating. But sometimes such Mantras are also prescribed as have no direct bearing upon it. As the Brāhmaṇas are "Śruti" (Revealed) Texts, their authority to do so is not to be questioned. And now a very interesting question arises: Which of the two is more powerful—either the scriptural injunction with regard to the Mantra, or the import of the Mantra? To this Jaimini answers in the Pūrva-mīmāṃsā as follows—

श्रुतिलिङ्गवाक्यप्रकरणस्थानसमाख्यानां समवाये पारदौर्बल्यमर्थविप्रकर्षात् (Pūrva-mīmāṃsā iii. 3. 14). That is, in a conflict of श्रुति, लिङ्ग, वाक्य, etc., the earlier is stronger than the latter. Thus 'Śruti' (direct injunction) is clearly stronger than the 'linga' (import), and is dominant over it. Thus, for instance, there is a clear injunction given in the Brāhmaṇa:—*ऐन्द्रया गार्हपत्यमुपतिष्ठते*. "He (Yajamāna) prays to Gārhapatya, by the ṛk which purports to be laudatory of Indra." And according to the practice of the Yājñikas, and the rule laid down as above by the Mīmāṃsakas, the ṛk (कदाचन स्तरीरासि etc.) is applied to the service of Gārhapatya Agni, though it properly forms a part of Indra's prayer. The Mantra, in this, as in all other similar cases, is to be interpreted by the 'jaghanyā vṛtti' or 'lakṣaṇā'. The following extract from the Bhāṣya of Śābara on the sūtra गुणाद्वाप्यभिधानं स्यात्संबन्धस्याशान्नेहेतुत्वात् (iii. 2. 4), will make the point sufficiently clear:

यद्यपि नेदं वाक्यं शब्दार्थसंबन्धस्य विधाने हेतुभूतं तथाप्यनेनेन्द्रशब्देन शक्यं कर्तुं गार्हपत्याभिधानम् । कुतः । गुणसंयोगात् । गौणमिदमभिधानं भविष्यति । भवति हि गुणादप्यभिधानम् । यथा सिंहो देवदत्तः अग्निर्माणवक इति । एवमिहाप्यनिन्द्रे गार्हपत्ये इन्द्रशब्दो भविष्यति । अस्ति तु चास्येन्द्रसादृश्यम् । यथैवेन्द्रो यज्ञसाधनमेवं गार्हपत्योऽपीति । अथवा इन्देतरैश्वर्यकर्मणः इन्द्रो भवति । भवति च गार्हपत्यस्यापि सर्वस्मिन्कार्ये ईश्वरत्वम् । तस्मादिन्द्रशब्देन यः प्रत्याय्यतेऽर्थः स प्रतीतः सादृश्याद् गार्हपत्यं प्रत्याययिष्यति ऐश्वर्याद्वा प्रत्याययिष्यति इति न दोषः ।

A clear reference to this deduction of the Mīmāṃsakas is to be found in the Śāṅkara-bhāṣya also : यद्यपि श्रुतिः प्रमाणं स्वविषये भवति तथापि प्रमाणान्तरेण विषयापहारेऽन्यपरा भवितुमर्हति । यथा मन्त्रार्थवादी । (II. i, 13).

Thus the practice of employing the sacred Mantras on this principle went on increasing in the sacrificial as well as in the sacramental ritual. In the latter, however, the principle seems to have been carried to a farther extent than in the former. Only some rites belonging to the latter class, therefore, are in complete harmony with the nature and essence of the Mantras which are prescribed for them. Those Mantras, for instance, which are used on the occasion of the nuptial rite are really very appropriate for it. And the reason is quite obvious. For, the Sūkta (X-7-85) from which most of them have been selected is called the 'vivāha-sūkta', and Sūryā, the daughter of the Sun, is said to be its ṛṣi (Seer), at the time of her own marriage. When, therefore, Āśvalāyana enjoins that the entrance of the bride into the house of the bride-groom should be celebrated with the ṛk, 'iha priyam prajayā te samṛdhyatam' &c., we feel that the choice is very happy. But it is not possible to make such a happy choice in all cases. And yet, happy or otherwise, the choice *has* to be made; for without the holy mantras no rite is complete. The same authority, therefore, is compelled to give the ṛk, 'yuvam vastrāṇi pivasā vasāthe' &c., (I-21-152-1) as an appropriate mantra at the time of investing the youth with a pair of new garments in the 'samāvartana' rite. The ṛk may be thus translated :—

You (two) clothe yourselves with fat garments (or you are clad in thick lustre) ; your productions (gifts) are verily unbroken and considerable ; tear off all sins (from us), and oh ! Mitra and Varuṇa, serve (us) with truth (rewards of sacrifice).

It will be easily perceived that the above mantra has no direct bearing upon the rite as the 'vivāha-mantras' have upon the nuptial rite. And in this manner the Vedic stanzas have been chosen and utilised for various purposes by the Yājñikas who organised and developed the whole later ritualism. And if we carefully examine the mantras which are employed by millions of devout

Hindus today for the daily worship of their gods, the truth of the above remarks will be amply borne out.

The Yājñikas, therefore, regarded the mantras as sacred utterances only, utterances fit for chanting at the ritual and thereby invoking and propitiating the gods. Naturally enough, they thought it quite necessary to regard them as meaningless also, from their own point of view; for, otherwise, the whole fabric reared by them will tumble down. And what a remarkable contrast between the Vedic stanzas on the one hand, and the stotras or hymns of classical times on the other? For while the former can be legitimately used for various purposes irrespective of their sense, the latter are strictly governed by their sense alone. There is nothing wrong in dedicating a ṛk which purports to be a prayer of Indra, to the service of Gārhapatya Agni. But it will be not only impropriety, it will be sheer madness, if a man will endeavour to praise Viṣṇu by a stotra of Śiva or Gaṇapati, or, vice versa.

That this is the convention of the Yājñikas, and that Yāska refutes it as such, we shall now prove first from the pūrvamīmāṃsā, wherein the whole question has been discussed at full length; then, secondly, from the 'upodghāta' (preface) of Sayana to the Rgveda-bhāṣya which is certainly more read than the first mentioned work; and thirdly, and lastly, from some remarks in Durga's commentary on the passage in question, which all readers of the Nirukta are expected to have read.

Jaimini has discussed the question in the 'mantrādhikaraṇa' (P. M. 1-2-31-50). The pūrvapakṣa, or prima facie view of this long adhikaraṇa comprises nine sūtras, most of which are identical in sense, with the objections which Yāska attributes to Kautsa.

We give below only the most important sūtras with Śabara's bhāṣya upon them, pointing out their complete identity with the various objections and answers in the Yāska-Kautsa controversy:—

The first sūtra is तदर्थशब्दात् (P. M. 1. 2. 31).

“अथेदानीं किं विवक्षितवचना मन्त्राः, उत अविवक्षितवचनाः, किमर्थप्रकाशनेन यागस्योपकुर्वन्ति, उत उच्चारणमात्रेणेति । तदेवमवगच्छामः । उच्चारणमात्रेणैवोपकुर्वन्तीति । कुतः । तदर्थशास्त्रात् । यदभिधानसमर्थो मन्त्रस्तत्रैवेन शास्त्रं निबध्नाति । उरुप्रथा उरु प्रथस्वेति पुरोडाशं प्रथयतीति । वचनमिदमनर्थकं, यथार्थाभिधानेनोपकुर्वन्ति । अथोच्चारणमात्रेण, ततो वक्तव्यो विनियोगः, उक्तश्च । अतो नार्थाभिधानेन । यथा साक्षः पुरुषः परेण चेक्षीयते नूनमक्षिभ्यां न पश्यतीति गम्यते । ”

This obviously corresponds to the second objection of Kautsa, namely, अथापि ब्राह्मणेन रूपसंपन्ना विधीयन्ते ।

Now it is perfectly clear from the foregoing extract from the bhāṣya, that the pūrva-pakṣa, or opponent's view, is here supposed to be advanced by the school which regards the mantras as 'उच्चारणमात्रफलाः' i. e. holy utterances, the chanting of which secures merit for the chanter. As to their sense, it is as good as non-existent; for they are employed by the Brāhmaṇas as though they were meaningless. If a man, who apparently seems to be endowed with eyes, submits himself to be helplessly led by another, what is the natural inference? Certainly this, that he is blind in the eyes.

Sāyaṇa, who, of course, follows Śabara, briefly interprets the sūtra thus :—यस्यार्थस्याभिधाने समर्थो मन्त्रः, स एवाभिधेयो यस्य शास्त्रस्य ब्राह्मणवाक्यस्य, वाक्यं तदर्थशास्त्रम् । तस्माच्छास्त्रादविवक्षितार्थो मन्त्र इत्यवगम्यते । तथाहि उरु प्रथस्वेति मन्त्रेण पुरोडाशप्रथनमभिधीयते । तथा सति मन्त्रेणैव प्रतीतत्वात्तदर्थबोधनाय प्रवृत्तं ब्राह्मणवाक्यमनर्थकं स्यात् । मन्त्रस्याविवक्षितार्थत्वे तु विनियोगबोधनाय ब्राह्मणमुपयुक्तम् । तस्मान्मन्त्रा उच्चारणेनैवानुष्ठानमुपकुर्वन्ति ।

Durga after commenting upon the identical passage in the Nirukta, alluded to above, offers further remarks for the elucidation of the same; but they seem to have completely escaped the serious attention of readers, who, with the notions of Kautsa's supposed scepticism revolving in their mind, were more perplexed than enlightened by them. These remarks are as follows:—

एवं सति मन्त्रं पुनर्विदधत् ब्राह्मणमर्थवत्, अनर्थका हि मन्त्राः, न ह्यर्थवन्तः सन्तो दासवत् ब्राह्मणेन विधायिरेन, विहिताश्च । तस्मादनर्थका मन्त्रा इति पश्यामः । अस्मि च ब्राह्मणस्यानर्थक्याभ्युपगमे देशकालकर्तृदक्षिणादि कर्माङ्गभूतं कुत उपलभ्येत । तथा च ब्राह्मणस्यानर्थक्याभ्युपगमे वेदैकदेशस्य मन्त्रस्यात्यन्तमिवानर्थकत्वमभ्युपगतं स्यात् । न हि ब्राह्मणस्य विविधस्तुत्यर्थादृतेऽर्थवत्तास्ति । मन्त्राणां पुनर्वाच्यवाचकत्वेनानर्थकानामपि सतां विनियोगमत्रिणाप्यर्थवत्ता स्यादेव । एतस्माच्च काममनर्थका मन्त्रा

वाच्यवाचकत्वेन सन्नो विनियोगमात्रेणाप्यर्थवन्तो विधेयत्वात्, विधायकत्वाच्च ब्राह्मणमर्थवदास्त्विति ।”

And also in commenting upon the text ‘अनर्थका हि मन्त्राः he observes :-

न हि मन्त्राणामर्थोस्ति वाच्यवाचकत्वेन ।

This ordinarily might have furnished a clue to all serious readers towards the solution of the problem, had not their minds been so thoroughly preoccupied by the supposed scepticism of Kautsa.

Then the second sūtra is वाक्यनियमात् । (1. 2. 31). This is substantially the same thing as ‘नियतवाचोद्युक्तयो नियतानुष्ठय्या भवन्ति ।’ the first and most important of all the objections of Kautsa. Śabara interpretes the sūtra as follows :-

नियतयदक्रमा हि मन्त्रा भवन्ति । ‘अग्निर्भूर्धा दिव’ इति, न विपर्ययेण । यद्यर्थप्रत्यायनार्थाः विपर्ययेणात्यर्थः प्रतीयते इति नियमोऽनर्थकः स्यात् । अथोच्चारणविशेषार्थाः, विपर्ययेऽन्यदुच्चारणमिति नियम आश्रीयेत । तेन यतरस्मिन्पक्षे नियमोऽर्थवान्, स नूनं पक्ष इति ।

The Yājñika who is supposed to adduce this argument in favour of his theory of the meaninglessness of the vedic mantras proves, or rather attempts to prove, that their true character lies, not indeed in their import, but in the immutability of their syllables. Otherwise the immutability cannot be accounted for. And this is certainly a very strong argument; for Yāska also admits it, though in an indirect manner. He simply observes that the argument from immutability does not prove the point at issue. For such immutability may be found in certain expressions and compounds even in the spoken language. लौकिकेष्वप्येतद्यथेन्द्राग्नी पितापुत्राविति. And as his object is to disprove the theory of the meaninglessness of the mantras, he lets off the doctrine of efficacy of their chanting undisputed. Jaimini’s answer to the above objection is couched in the sūtra अविरुद्धं परम् (I-2-44).

यदुक्तं पदनियमस्त्वार्थवत्त्वादविवाक्षितार्था मन्त्रा हात । काममनर्थको नियमः न दृष्टमप्रमाणम् । नियतोच्चारणमदृष्टायति चेत्, अविरुद्धाऽदृष्टकल्पनाऽस्मत्पक्षेऽपि । एवं प्रत्याय्यमानमभ्युदयकारि भवतीति (Śabara-bhāṣya),

Sāyaṇa briefly comments on the same sūtra as follows :—

परं द्वितीयसूत्रोक्तम् अस्मत्पक्षेऽप्यविरुद्धम् । न हि वयं पाठक्रमनियमादकृष्टं निवारयामः किं तर्हि, मन्त्रोच्चारणेन जायमानमर्थप्रत्यायनं कृष्टप्रयोजनत्वाच्चोपेक्षितव्यमित्येतावदेव ब्रूमः ” ।

All this leaves absolutely no doubt that on the point of the efficacy of chanting the Vedic stanzas, the disputants, the Mīmāṃsakas and Yāska on the one hand, and the Yājñikas on the other, are at one. And a disputant who indignantly maintains this doctrine of efficacy is as asunder from a sceptic as the north pole is from the south. It is true that Yāska does not tackle the point at all. But the reason is obvious. He takes into consideration only that part of the Yājñika's convention which clashes with the aims and objects of his Nirukta. As to the rest of it he is quite silent, for according to the maxim 'परमतमप्रतिषिद्धमनुमतं भवति', silence is admission. Jaimini, on the other hand, discusses it in all its details, approving some of them and disapproving the others.

The difference between the Yājñikas and the Mīmāṃsakas is very little—almost nominal. They are indeed adherents of one and the same school. But while the former mainly rely upon the 'kalpa-sūtras' and other traditional books in the conduct of the ritual, the latter proceed with scientific methods, and out of a mass of scriptural injunctions evolve a system of philosophy, which is not very transcendental in its results, it is true, but which, nevertheless, is of paramount importance from the scholastic and ritualistic stand-point of view. Hence Durga rightly calls the Mīmāṃsakas by the name 'न्यायविदः याज्ञिकाः'; for instance, in his bhāṣya on Nirukta I-17-5 he remarks न्यायविदः खल्वपि याज्ञिकाः पठन्ति लिङ्गतो मन्त्राणां शेषभावमधिकृत्य, “लिङ्गक्रमसमाख्यानात्काम्यशुक्तं समाप्ता-नम्” (P. M. III. 2-19) इति । ”

It is evident, therefore, that in criticising the theory of the meaninglessness of the mantras Jaimini is refuting the extravagance of a view of his own predecessors. And though Kautsa is not mentioned by name in the Mīmāṃsā, still he is clearly the person whom Jaimini has in view in writing the 'mantrādhikaraṇa.' He is, in all probability, the same person who is men-

tioned by Āpastamba in his Dharmasūtra. If so, he must have been the author of a kalpa-sūtra.

And now the direct positive evidence for Kautsa's orthodoxy being given, we may argue to the same effect from the point of probability also. Is it at all likely that a sceptic should adduce the first two arguments which Yāska places into the mouth of Kautsa? For, obviously, a sceptic's aim must be to prove that the Vedic Mantras are a senseless jargon. Then what does he gain by urging that they are at the mercy of the Brāhmanas? or that they are immutable in the order of their syllables and words, either? The plain truth is that a fundamental error breeds smaller errors in its course. And the few who were perhaps struck by the fantastic nature of the arguments of the supposed sceptic satisfied themselves with the thought that the ancients, being no thorough-bred disputants, often ushered in irrelevant matter in their discussions, at which, we of modern times are occasionally to wink. To the mind of most readers, however, there was nothing incongruent or fantastic in them. Then as to the next two objections viz., (3) अथाप्यनुपपन्नार्था भवन्ति । (4) अथापि विप्रतिषिद्धार्था भवन्ति । and also (7) अथाप्यविस्पष्टार्था भवन्ति । they are certainly such as are likely to proceed from an opponent of sceptical tendency. Kautsa and his school oppose (3) and (4) to the pretensions of Yāska, as the founder of the school of Vedic Exposition, in order to show the invalidity and incongruity of the sense of the Mantras, in which sense they themselves have no interest. And (7), or argument from obscurity, is advanced not only to prove the futility of the task of that Exposition, but also to convince the opponent of the mysterious character of at least some of the Mantras. The Yājñika, indeed, seems to regard such obscure verses in the same light as the devout Mahomedan looks upon the mysterious letters A, L, M etc., at the beginning of each Chapter of the Quoran. Then again objection (5) अथापि जानन्तं संश्लेष्यति, and Yāskas reply to (3), आस्नायवचनादर्हिसा प्रतीयते, clearly indicate that both the objector and the respondent profess the same faith; otherwise no such objection could be raised nor such reply received.

Such, and so completely antithetical to all accepted notions of Kautsa's heterodoxy, is our view in the matter of

his creed. The evidence we have given in support of it is clear, conclusive, incontrovertible. The wonderful passage in the Nirukta, in its treacherous invitation to readers, may fitly be compared to "the great Serbonian bog where whole armies have sunk." And though its identity with the similar topic in the Mimāṃsā was perceived by more than one translator, it seems to have been little better than the result of an idle search for parallelisms. Nor is it necessary to controvert the various ingenious theories based on the misinterpretation of this passage; they will, of necessity, shift for themselves. Accordingly, Dr. Macdonell's theory of the great gap of time between the Ṛṣis and the early interpreters of the Vedas - a theory quite unfair to the traditional learning of the Hindus, which is nothing if not uninterrupted - becomes totally groundless. And Dr. Sarup's argument about the tolerance of those times, in so far as it derives its support from the mistaken import of the same passage, is vitiated by the discovery of the true creed of Kautsa. Far different from either of these two scholars is Prof. V. K. Rajwade, who, in his recent Marathi translation of the Nirukta, treats both the objector and the respondent with sneers, thinking that the objections and answers are equally frivolous. This disclosure of the true creed of the objector, however, will convince him that the ancients knew what they were about, and did not indulge in discussions for a pastime.

HISTORICAL DATA IN THE DRAMA KAUMUDI- MAHOTSAVA

BY

K. P. JAYASWAL, M. A.

1. The Andhra scholar Mr. Ramkrishna Kavi, M. A., who has to his credit already the discovery and publication of several missing literary pieces of historical value, places before us another gem in the shape of the *Kaumudīmahotsava*, a drama in Sanskrit, by an unknown author. He and Pandit S. K. Ramanaṭha Sastri Mīmāṃsācārya have edited it in the *Dakṣiṇabhārati* Sanskrit Series as No. 4. The introduction in English is contributed by Mr. Kavi in five pages, and the drama covers fifty (8 vo) pages in print, consisting of five acts. It is published from 366, Mint Street, Madras (1929). I received a presentation copy at Dasahra. Most welcome this present has been to me, as it lights up in detail a period of Hindu history.

2. The manuscript on palm-leaf was discovered in British Malabar by Mr. Kavi and his companions during their well-known tour for searching manuscripts. Our text has been edited from a single manuscript yet found. The author was a woman. Her name is missing in the manuscript, but I am sure that the discovery of another manuscript will give her name which may turn out to be one of the poetesses famous in our anthologies.¹ The evidence of the manuscript is not definite on the question of the title of the drama. There might have been another name of the drama.

3. The style is simple, of the school of Bhāsa ; both prose and verses are direct, without long samāsas or far-fetched figures of

1. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar thinks that the second verse of the drama contains the name of the authoress. I fully agree with this view. I, however, take her name to be Kiśorikā, and her father's name Kṛṣṇa. There is a pun on the latter word. The use of kalama-mañjari to denote a pen is important.

speech. Nāndī is omitted as in so many Southern texts. It was composed in a few days, probably within a week, as the occasion was urgent and the composition topical and for the occasion. King Kalyāṇa-varman obtained *mahābhīṣeka* coronation (p. 41) for *adhirājya* (p. 35) at the Sugāṅga Palace of Pāṭaliputra, the capital of Magadha (pp. 30, 35, 42 etc.) under circumstances of a popular revolution. For political strength, the Prime Minister arranged an immediate alliance with the king of the Śūrasena Janapada (pp. 8, 34, 49), Kīrtiṣeṇa, a Yādava, ruling at Mathurā (pp. 40-43). His daughter Kīrtimatī was brought to Pāṭaliputra, alternatively called Kusumapura and Puspapura, and the marriage was performed there, the Purohita from Mathurā representing his king (Act V). While the festival *Kaumudīmahotsava* was being celebrated during the marriage and after, in a prolonged form, the drama just improvised by the lady dramatist, based on the biography of Kalyāṇavarman up to his marriage, was staged at Pāṭaliputra : तदानीं तत्रभवतः पाटलि-
पुत्राधिपतेः सुयुहीतनाम्नो देवस्य कल्याणवर्मणः प्रतिनवराज्यलाभसंवर्द्धितदृष्टिदृष्टिपर-
संकुलेपि राजकुले पुनरयमपरः प्रत्यासदिति कौमुदीमहोत्सवारम्भः, तदहमपि स्वकुलो-
चितेन संगीतसेवाधिकारेण लब्धावसरो राजकुलं प्रविशामि । (प्राविश्य) प्रयुक्तपूर्वेषु
पूर्वसुरिसूक्तिविशेषेषु का पुनरभिनवरमणीया कृतिरभिनतव्या ? भवतु, यत्तदस्यैव राज्ञः
समतीतं चरितमाधिकृत्य ... कथा निबद्धं नाटकम् । तदिदानीमग्रतः कृत्वा मगधराजा-
न्तःपुरमवतरामि । Mr. Kavi thinks (*Introduction p. 1*) that the name of the authoress was probably Vijjikā.

4. The work belongs to a period when at Pāṭaliputra the book of Dattaka was still studied by learned courtezans (p. 37), women became orthodox nuns (p. 38), and Hindu gods and goddesses were in the ascendant. There was an orthodox revival (प्रकटितवर्णाश्रमपथं, p. 36), the story of *Avimāra* (p. 22) and that of *Udayana* (p. 4) the audience fully knew, that is, dramas on them, as well as on Śaunaka-and-Bandhumatī had been popular and familiar, and the art of painting was in evidence (Acts V & VI). The Brahman is nowhere a military hero (unlike in *Bhāsa*). The drama seems to be nearer Kālidāsa's time than that of *Bhāsa*¹.

1. Similarity in language need not suggest borrowing between the authoress and Kālidāsa. Language and expressions current on the stage can be adopted by contemporary or nearly contemporary writers.

5. The mention, of the Palace Su-Gāṅga at Pāṭaliputra, and the historical reference to the Su-Yāmuna Palace of Kauśāmbī (p. 4) are natural in this drama, while the reference to the Su-Gāṅga in the *Mudrā-Rākṣasa* in connection with *Kaṭumūli-mahotsava* is forced. It appears that Viśakhadatta had this play about Kalyāṇavarman before him, and was probably competing with it. Personally I feel no doubt that the drama is a work of the Gupta period, on its literary style and characteristics.

6. The basis being the history of a prince, not destined to acquire fame, the drama remained a contemporary pamphlet and did not acquire a place in literature. There is not much scope for a dramatic plot in the life-story of Kalyāṇavarman, nor, owing to its being written for the contemporary personalities, is the real hero, namely the Prime Minister Mantra-Gupta, given his due place. The Paura-Jaṇapada having put Kalyāṇavarman on the throne during the absence of the ruling king, there was no room for a description of any bravery of her hero by the dramatist. She shows skill in creating a romance for the newly married couple who had seen each other only once before the marriage. Her description of the beauties of the young queen is a description of a woman by a woman, and in the language of the stage, which makes it difficult for it to be of any lasting impression. The inherent defects, the poor personality of the hero, and an essentially historical narration of facts, assigned the drama to oblivion. Nor has it much of a chance now as a literary piece. Yet it will be read, probably more than any other drama, by the historians of the Gupta period. Its very defects make it enormously valuable to the seeker of facts. We may take the drama to be the contemporary history of Kalyāṇavarman of Pāṭaliputra.

7. Where in the Gupta period have we to locate this king? The facts recorded by the authoress are these: Sundaravarman, father of Kalyāṇavarman, died an old man on the battle-field in the defence of his capital, Pāṭaliputra, which had been besieged by one Candāsena and his relations the Licchavis. The dynasty of Sundaravarman is not named, it is merely called the 'Magadha family' (*Magadha-kula*, p. 30) with probably a tinge of localism. We may take it that

Sundaravarman's was a local family. Caṇḍa-sena, the rival, was adopted by Sundaravarman (putrikṛtā, p. 30). And although Caṇḍa-sena was thus allied with the Magadha family, he contracted a marriage with the Licchavis who were 'the enemies of the Magadha dynasty,' and who are called Mlechhas by the authoress (ततः स्वयं मगधकुलं व्यपदिशन्नपि मगधकुलवैरिभिर्म्लेच्छैर्लिच्छविभिः सह संबन्धं कृत्वा). Finding an opportunity, he laid siege to Kusumapura (लब्धावसरः कुसुमपुरमुपरुद्धवान्). Here *svayam Magadha-kulam vyapadisannapi* is important. Caṇḍa-sena had evidently proclaimed himself as belonging to the Magadha family, on account of adoption, although his own family was different. He was a Kāraskara (IV. 6, p. 30): "कारस्करः स खलु संप्रति पार्थिवेषु", at which the remark is made 'कहिं एरिसवंगस्स से राजसिरी'? - 'how, royalty for such a caste?' The Kāraskaras were low and had their own locality, according to Baudhāyana (Dharmasūtra, Ch. I). Evidently Caṇḍa-sena was such an old immigrant in Magadha that his original community had come to be treated as a caste. Sundaravarman in the battle had an opportunity of killing Caṇḍa-sena but the position of the latter being that of a son, he desisted and merely threw him downright in the midst of the Licchavis, who were evidently fighting on the side of Caṇḍa-sena (ततः संप्रवृत्ते संग्रामे वधपात्रमप्येनं पुत्रीकृतत्वादपहस्तयित्वा लिच्छविकुलमन्तः क्षपितवान् देवः). The 'Māgadha' ('the king of the Magadhas'), however, died exhausted, and of old age then and there (p. 30). The queens of Sundaravarman committed suicide (p. 30), and Kalyāṇavarman, a little boy, was taken away beyond the frontiers into the forest with the nurse Vinayamādhara and some devoted companions (p. 31). He grew on the lake Pampā at Vyādha-kiskindhā (p. 3) and had to lie in wait for a number of years. In the meantime the ex-prime-minister Mantra-Gupta and the ex-commander-in-chief Kuñjaraka never gave up hope and remained on the lookout for an opportunity. Once Caṇḍa-sena had to go out with his army on an expedition to the frontiers to quell a revolt of his *pratyanta-pālas* or frontier governors (p. 29), "amongst the Śabarās and Pulindas on the frontier of Magadha" (p. 10). The revolt was stirred up by Mantragupta and Kuñjaraka (p. 10). During the absence of king Caṇḍa-sena and his army from the capital, Mantra-Gupta, had a conference in secret with the Paura-Jānapadas, who

supported the return of Prince Kalyāṇavarman (p. 29). He was called to the capital through an urgent messenger and was crowned. In the beginning of Act V it is said that Caṇḍa-sena was struck or killed (*nihataḥ*). It is not mentioned as to who killed him, whether Kalyāṇavarman's party or the frontier-governors. Kalyāṇavarman is credited to have uprooted the rāja-kula (dynasty) of Caṇḍasena.

8. The narration of the history of Kalyāṇavarman necessarily stops here, because this was the terminus up to the date of the drama of the '*samatīta-carita*' of the new king.

9. I feel confident that this Caṇḍa-sena was no other than the king who assumed the name of Candragupta after his grandfather's name (*Gupta*), in imitation of the great name of Candragupta Maurya. Candragupta was his regnal name, and Caṇḍa-sena was the original name (if the manuscript preserves the form correctly and has not corrupted *candra* into *canda*). His father's name Ghaṭotkaca was not joined with *Gupta*. It seems that Candragupta dropped *sena* and adopted *Gupta* to give himself a dynastic title.

10. The known Gupta history would give room to a Kalyāṇavarman and a Sundaravarman, before the disappearance of the Licchavis from the neighbourhood of Magadha, only in the time of Candragupta I. The identification proposed is supported by the *sambandha* with the Licchavis mentioned in the drama. We know from the Gupta inscriptions and coins that the whole rise of the Gupta power was due to the marriage with the Licchavi family.

11. Kalyāṇavarman could not have been allowed to reign long by the Licchavis who had to protect the interest of their *dauhitra* Samudragupta. In the list of the rulers subdued by Samudragupta Kalyāṇavarman's name does not appear, though we have one Balavarman and one Candrarvarman in his list of the Āryāvarta kings. Nor do we find the name of Kīrtiṣeṇa, the father-in-law of Kalyāṇavarman in that list. This is explainable on the ground that Kīrtiṣeṇa, who was a contemporary of Sundaravarman (p. 40), was probably an old man at the time of the marriage and accession of Kalyāṇavarman, and that he

might have soon passed away. The Purāpas which close in the Gupta period, do not mention the family of 'Sundaravarman'. It must have been a very short dynasty and insignificant.

12. The cause of the hostility and fight seems to have been the birth of Kalyāṇavarman. Caṇḍa-sena was a *kṛtaka*¹ son of Sundaravarman ; by the birth of Kalyāṇavarman he lost the right of succession. Kalyāṇa was born when his father was old. Kalyāṇa was yet a babe when the battle of Pātali-putra was fought. Sundaravarman left more than one queen who committed suicide. It seems to have been a civil war for succession. As Canda was a *kṛtaka* son, he had not lost his parentage in his natural family, according to Hindu Law. The Gupta records mention his natural parentage. He did not succeed to his adoptive father by law for his hostility and battle were sufficient to cause his disinheritance, apart from the existence of Kalyāṇavarman. Hence his acquisition of the throne was on pure conquest by him and the Licchavis. Coins were therefore struck in the joint names.

13. The facts, as interpreted here, are supported by the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta. Samudragupta practically starts his career with the conquest of "Puspa" (pura), where as if in play he captures through his army the descendant of Kota (*Kota-kulajām*) who is not named. Nāgasena, probably a son of Kīrtiśeṇa, is also mentioned as defeated at the same time as the *Kota-kulajām*. Evidently, Acyuta and Nāgasena and the Kota are all three to be referred to a battle at Puṣpapura. Kalyāṇavarman's family name is not given in the drama except the mention that he was a *Kṣatriya* (pp. 3, 33). Kota is to be identified as the family of Kalyāṇavarman. This is certain that Samudragupta had to re-conquer Pāṭaliputra. His father must have been dispossessed. The ministers and members of the assembly at the time of Samudragupta's nomination in supersession of his (elder) brothers were sorrow-stricken, according to the inscription. His father Candragupta had tears in

1. A *kṛtaka* son could be, like any other kind of adopted son, an *asa-varṇa* boy. A *Kṣatriya* could adopt a *Kāraskara*. Sundaravarman was a *Kṣatriya* as his name shows and as it is specifically mentioned in the drama (p. 32).

his eyes. The scene refers to the last hours of Candragupta. Samudragupta was selected owing to the urgency of the hour, as he appeared competent to restore the fortunes of the family. And he was the grandson of the Licchavis, i. e., born of a Licchavi lady.

14. His low caste and the attack on it, probably more than anything else, made Samudragupta become a Hindu of Hindus.

15. Students of Gupta history have always felt that the Guptas were low in origin. Prof. Bhandarkar and I were discussing the other day this very point and without any doubt we both entertained that opinion. As the Purāṇas, which close their survey in the early Gupta time (e. g. the *Vāyu* mentions them as ruling in the Ganges valley), say that from the time of Mahā-Pamda Nanda the imperial throne would be occupied by Śūdras, one is led to the conclusion that the Guptas were Śūdra or similarly low in status. We now find that the Licchavis were looked down upon by the orthodox people of Magadha as *mlecchas*. The Gupta marriage with them is another proof, though not a very strong proof, of their low origin. Their silence about their family-name in their inscriptions is also significant. Now we know from our drama that Candā-sena was a *Kāraskara*. The lady author by a clever play upon the word *Kāraskara* [कारानिराधपरिपाण्डुकपोलरेखा कारानिरेध-विधुराः प्रकृतीश्वकार। कारक्षरणे ककुभो वशमानिनाय कारस्करः स खलु संप्रित पाथि-वेहु] makes him literally a prison-warden. On the authority cited by Baudhāyana, the *Kāraskaras* were beyond the pale of Hindu orthodoxy, and a Brahman had to perform purification on his return from them.

16. Candragupta the *Kāraskara* was the earliest Shivaji of India, or the second early Shivaji, the first being Candragupta Maurya. The powerful Śūdra protectors of Hindu culture rivalled the race of Rāma and Parikṣit in upholding orthodox rites, the cause of Brahmanism, the preservation of the cow, and the support of the sacred Sanskrit.

17. We must thank Mr. Kavi for restoring to us this precious missing bit of kāvyā, and through it (if my identification is correct) a missing link in Gupta history.

APOTHEOSIS IN THE RĠVEDA

THE RĠBHUS

(Continued from Vol. VIII. p. 182)

BY

SITANATH PRADHAN, M. Sc., Ph. D.

In his ' Die Religion des Veda ' Oldenberg says¹ " Die drei Rbhus, ihrem Namen nach wahrscheinlich identisch mit den Elben. " Elsewhere in the same work he writes² " Die Rbhus (Elben) in den Kreis der Opferwürdigen Gottheitten aufgenommen werden etc. " Bloomfield agreeing with Oldenberg says³ that the Rbhus were ' clever-handed elves who used to appear in the evening. ' Dr. M. Winternitz states⁴ " the Rbhus are ' gods of the so-called lower mythology ' and correspond with the elves. " In the Cambridge History of India Vol. I, we find⁵ the statement " The Rbhus are aerial elfs. " Edward Washburn Hopkins says⁶ " Yet are the Hindu clever artizan Rbhus our elves. " Ludwig however considered them as the three seasons personified. Thus it will be perceived, that there is almost a unanimity of opinion amongst scholars as regards the character of the Vedic deities, the Rbhus. Here we shall try to show that this view of regarding the Rbhus as supernatural aerial elves, or the three seasons personified is somewhat unhappy. The Vedic literature, especially the hymns of the Rġveda, as well as the Indian literature of later periods, which really provides the best key to the right understanding of the Rġveda, a production essentially of the Indian mind, indicate that the Rbhus were human chieftains of a remote age.

1 P. 235.

2 P. 125.

3 The Religion of the Veda p. 78.

4 History of Indian Literature (translated by Mrs. S. Ketkar) p. 78.

5 P. 105.

6 The Religions of India, p. 169.

Rbhu, Vibhvan and Vāja were the three sons of Sudhanvan of the Aṅgiras family and flourished in the very earliest R̥gvedic period and were able to perform some feats which to the early primitive infant mind of the R̥gvedic people appeared marvellous, and the R̥ṣis began to applaud them for their feats. This simple praise that was heaped on them became magnified into the admiration of the adorer, and this admiration again developed into complete apotheosization; and the result was that the R̥bhhus began to receive regular prayers and offerings of libations of Soma-juice from the medieval R̥gvedic R̥ṣis, not only at the third daily sacrifice, but also at the sacrifices appropriated to the different seasons of year, under the sincere belief that the R̥bhhus, when prayed to, might be pleased to grant them a satiety of riches and wealth in the shape of cattle. They believed that the R̥bhhus after their death had been living near the region of the disc of the Sun-god who had received them hospitably for their having performed good work, and that the eldest R̥bhu had become the artificer of Indra, the second Vibhvan of Varuṇa, and the third Vāja of the other gods. They also believed that the R̥bhhus reposed in the hospitality of the Sun-god for exactly those twelve days when the moon remains in the twelve rain-making lunar mansions such as the Ādrā etc. Sāyana was perfectly aware of this for we find him saying that the R̥bhhus were men and attained divinity by performing penances.¹ Elsewhere he says that the R̥bhhus were sometimes identified with the rays of the sun,² but this is straining it too far, for the spirits of the R̥bhhus were believed to be travelling along the rays of the sun. They were believed to have attained immortality and divinity by performing the following wonderful deeds:

(1) A R̥ṣi whose cow had died leaving a calf asked the R̥bhhus for assistance whereupon the R̥bhhus secured a living cow and covered it with the skin of the dead one, from which the calf imagined it to be its own mother. (Vide Nītimañjarī on the R̥gveda).

(2) The R̥bhhus at that remote age when few knew artisan-ship amongst the Indo-Aryans, took a big ladle for sacrificial

1 Sāyana on R̥gv. I, 20, 1.

2 Sāyana on R̥gv. I, 110, 6.

viands and out of that one piece, made four smaller ladles. This was considered very wonderful, and praises were heaped on them.

(3) They renovated their aged parents certainly by the administration of drugs, and also by giving them nourishing food. This appeared very marvellous to that ancient people.

After their death, they were believed to have departed to the other world. Associated with the gods, they were believed to still remain dexterous-handed skilled artisans. The eldest R̥bhu was believed as we have said to have become the artificer of Indra, Vibhvan of Varuṇa, and Vāja of the other gods. Thus they were believed to have formed the fleet horses of the god. Indra and to have manufactured a chariot for the Aśvins.

We consider here the statements of the R̥gvedic poets one by one and make this point clear.

Medhātithi, the son of Kāṇva, makes the following statements :

"This hymn, the bestower of riches, has been composed by the sages with their own mouths to the (class of) divinities (i. e. the R̥bhū) who were born (in this world).¹ "

"Officers (of sacrifices), they held (a mortal existence); by their pious acts) they obtained a share of sacrifices with the gods.² "

It is clear that Medhātithi Kāṇva was conscious of the mortal existence of the R̥bhū in the world, and believed that the R̥bhū had been entitled to a share of sacrifices with the gods on account of their pious acts performed here.

Consider the statements of Kutsa of the Aṅgiras family.

Kutsa says,³ " When R̥bhū, you, who were amongst my ancestors, yet immature (in wisdom) but desirous of enjoying (the Soma libations), retired to the forest to perform (penances), then, sons of Sudhanvan, through the plentitude of your completed (devotions), you came to the sacrificial hall of the munificent Savitr. "

1 R̥gv. I, 20, 1.

2 R̥gv. I, 20. 8. R. C. Dutt mistranslates this R̥k.

3 R̥gv. I, 110, 2.

Kutsa continues saying,¹ "Savitṛ bestowed upon you immortality when you approached him who is unconcealable, and represented your desire to partake of the libations, and that ladle for sacrificial viands, which the Asura (i. e. Tvaṣṭṛ) had formed single, you made four-fold. "

Kutsa says again,² " Associated with the priests and quickly performing the holy rites, they being yet mortals, acquired immortality ; and the sons of Sudhanvan, the Ṛbhus, brilliant as the sun, became connected with the ceremonies (appropriated to the different seasons of the year).

Kutsa thus enumerates some of the acts³ of the Ṛbhus—

" Ṛbhus, you covered the cow with a hide, and re-united the mother with the calf ; sons of Sudhanvan, leaders of sacrifice, through your good works you rendered your aged parents young."

It is clear from the above statements of Kutsa Āṅgīrasa that the Ṛbhus were his ancestors, i. e. formerly belonged to the Āṅgīras family and were the sons of the famous Sudhanvan Āṅgīrasa of whom we shall learn more. The Ṛbhus, according to Kutsa, were mortal men, but by virtue of their pious acts, were believed to have acquired immortality and divinity after their death i. e. in the next world, and received regular prayers and offerings of Soma-juice libations from Vedic priests in the same sacrificial hall in which the great God Savitṛ was prayed to and invoked.

Dirghatamas Māmateya while engaged in the third daily sacrifice, calls⁴ the Ṛbhus the sons of Sudhanvan and refers⁵ to their having made the one sacrificial ladle fourfold.

Dirghatamas says⁶ again, "When Tvaṣṭṛ said : let us slay those who have profaned the ladle designed for the drinking of gods, then they, the Ṛbhus, made use of other names for one another as

1 Rgv. I, 110, 3.

2 Rgv. I, 110, 4.

3 Rgv. I, 110, 8.

4 Rgv. I, 161, 2 ; 7 ; 8.

5 Rgv. I, 161, 2 ; 4 ; 5 ; 9.

6 Rgv. I, 161, 5.

the libation was poured out, and the maiden propitiated these men with different appellations. ”

Mark the words ‘maiden’ and ‘appellations’ in the above statements of Dirghatamas.

Sāyaṇa says that their mother addressed these Naras or leaders of sacrifice i. e. the R̥bhūṣas, with the different appellations or titles by which individuals engaged in priestly function are always addressed, in order that they might evade the indignation of Tvastṛ. This, according to Sāyaṇa, accounts for the origin of the names of the chief officiating priests.

Viśvāmitra Gāthina says¹ that the R̥bhūṣas were the human sons of Sudhanvan (clearly of Sudhanvan Āṅgīrasa) the grandsons of a Man [Manōrnapātō] and that they attained immortality and divinity through their devotion. He also refers to the making of mallet by Vibhvan.²

Vāmadeva treats the R̥bhūṣas as men of ancient times,³ ascribes to them the making of the sacrificial ladle into four,⁴ mentions that the R̥bhūṣas repose for 12 days in the hospitality of the unconcealable Sun⁵, uses the variant names R̥bhūṣin⁶ and R̥bhūṣan⁷ for R̥bhūṣa, and refers to the invocation of the R̥bhūṣas at the third daily sacrifice.⁸

Sāryāta Mānava uses⁹ the variant name R̥bhūṣan as does Tānva Pārthya¹⁰, while Vāmadeva ascribes¹¹ to them the renovation of their parents, the restoration of the cow, the fabrication of the fleet horses for Indra, the making of armour for the gods, i. e. artizanship in the next world, and even the infinite power of separating the heaven from the earth.

1 R̥gv. III, 60, 3 ; 5.

2 R̥gv. III, 49, 1.

3 R̥gv. IV, 33, 5.

4 R̥gv. IV, 33, 6.

5 R̥gv. IV, 33, 7.

6 R̥gv. IV, 33, 9.

7 R̥gv. IV, 37, 8.

8 R̥gv. IV, 33, 11 ; IV. 35, 6 ; IV. 37, 4.

9 R̥gv. X, 92, 11.

10 R̥gv. X, 93, 7.

11 R̥gv. IV, 34, 9.

Thus it is clear that although the R̥gvedic R̥sis were in the habit of invoking the R̥bhus as deities at the third daily sacrifice at the decline of day, they were fully conscious that the R̥bhus were dexterous-handed, humble-minded, handsome-chinned, skilled artizans, the three sons of Sudhanvan of the Āṅgiras family, who not only rendered Tvastr's sacrificial ladle into four and renovated their parents and re-united the mother with the calf etc. etc. etc., but also composed Vedic hymns in honour of the Vedic God Agni.¹

The word 'R̥bhu' in the Vedic age meant 'brilliant,' 'resplendent,' 'shining,' (Rv. II, 1, 10) 'growing' (Rv. X, 93, 8) and the word 'Vāja' meant 'wealth' (Rv. II, 1, 10; X, 93, 7) and thus every proper name had a meaning.

We propose now to give here a rough idea of the times about which the R̥bhus flourished.

We have already learnt from several places in the R̥gveda that the R̥bhus were the sons of Sudhanvan; we are also informed by Kutsa of the Āṅgiras family that the R̥bhus were his ancestors; it follows then that Sudhanvan, the father of the R̥bhus, belonged to the Āṅgiras family. Now this Sudhanvan Āṅgirasa who belonged to the very earliest R̥gvedic period is mentioned in the Br̥hadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad. Bhuju Lāhyāyani who in the famous debate with Yājñavalkya Vājasaneyā in the court of (Kṛti) Janaka in Mithilā informs us amongst other things that some spirit who got hold of or possessed the daughter of Patañcala Kāpya in the Madra country, on being asked as to who he was, declared himself to be the spirit of the departed Sudhanvan Āṅgirasa.² In the Mahābhārata³ we find that Prāhlāda who was the king of the Asuras, had a son named Virōcana who for the possession of a beautiful maiden named Keśinī,⁴ had a quarrel with Sudhanvan Āṅgirasa. Virōcana Prāhlādi maintained that as he was superior to his rival Sudhanvan

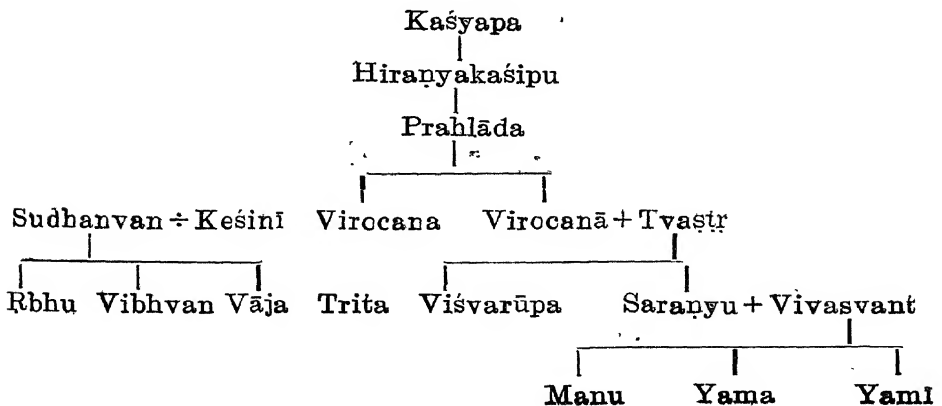
1 R̥gv. X, 80, 7.

2 Br̥d. Ar. Up. III, 3, 1.

3 Gd. MBh. II, 68, 65-87; Kumb. MBh. II, 90, 67-89.

4 Nilakaṇṭha on the Mbh. II, 68, 65-87; Gd. MBh. V, 35 ch.

Āṅgīrasa, he had a stronger title to become the husband of the beautiful maiden than Sudhanvan and this Sudhanvan disputed. Each of them pawned his life-long service to the other in case of defeat, and both of them approached Prahlāda for a decision, who on the advice of his old grand-father Kāśyapa, did not hesitate to decide in favour of Sudhanvan. This information, inserted in the Mahābhārata as a piece of ancient history, has all the appearance of being founded on a substratum of truth, and makes Sudhanvan Āṅgīrasa contemporary with Virōcana or a younger contemporary of Prahlāda. If this tradition has any value, it indicates that Sudhanvan Āṅgīrasa or his sons, the R̥bhū, belonged to a time when the Irano-Aryans and Āṅgīrases lived together, although in rivalry. This tradition is supported by the Bṛhaddevatā and Vāyu Purāṇa. The Bṛhaddevatā says in conformity with the R̥gveda that the R̥bhū were the three pupils of Tvāṣṭr, and the Vāyu (84, 19-21) supplies the interesting information that Tvāṣṭr married Virocanā, the daughter of Prahlāda (i. e. sister of Virocana), and had, by her, his famous son Viśvarūpa Trīśīrṣan, and a daughter named Saranyu. Viśvasūpa Tvāṣṭra was the Purohita of the Devas (Gd. MBh. XII, 342) and was killed by Trita Āptya (R̥gveda X, 8, 8-9), and Saranyu Tvāṣṭrī was given in marriage to Vivasvant Kāśyapa (R̥gveda X, 17, 1-2; Vāyu 84, 21 & 32) and Manu, Yama and Yami were born to her. The following tree illustrates the chronological relationship amongst the personages mentioned in this essay :



ŚAMKARA ON THE LIMITS OF EMPIRICAL KNOWLEDGE

BY

SATINDRA KUMAR MUKHERJEE, M. A.

1 What is known is little.

There is, perhaps, none to disagree if we say that empirical knowledge depends for its origin and development upon data supplied by sense organs to the mind. The limits of our sense organs and the mind, therefore, determine the limits of our knowledge. If we depend upon them, there can, perhaps be no question of knowing more than what their capacity allows. This capacity of mind and organs varies not only with different individuals but also with the same man in different times. But apart from such personal equations, there are reasons which go to show that there is a limit beyond which the organs and mind cannot help us, or as Śamkara says "What is known, is little."¹...For the present let us enquire into the reasons of this rather bold and unqualified statement of Śamkara.

The present weakness of our sense organs and mind, it may be said, should not be made an argument against the possibility of our perfect knowledge even in future. Who knows there may not come a time when our mind and sense organs will become so perfect that there will be nothing hidden from them. This, indeed, is a plausible argument, but if we look deeper it will appear that even such a supposition cannot save the sense organs and the mind from the charge of limited capacity - that there is a point which they cannot pass.

The sense organs have a limited sphere of activity. The eye gives colour, ear sound and so on, but none encroach upon the domain of other. Even if, therefore, all our sense organs become perfect they cannot alter this fundamental law which differentiates one sense organ from another. The power of the eye and

1 *Kenopaniṣad-Bhāṣya*, 1. 4.

ear may be thousand times increased, but still the eye must see colour and the ear must hear sound. The result is that the perfect eye and the perfect ear can each give us a picture of reality in its own sphere which is only one sided. There is, moreover, another difficulty viz. the insufficient number of sense organs in our possession. Voltaire conceived of an animal with a thousand sense organs of different kinds and there is nothing impossible in it from the theoretical standpoint. But even if we exclude such a possibility based entirely on theoretical ground, it remains a fact that our perfect organs also being limited in their own sphere, give us only side glances of reality.

It may be objected that the co-operation of these perfect organs can give us a perfect knowledge of reality. Even now we get a more or less complete knowledge of facts e. g. when we touch, taste, smell and see an orange. Here the four sense organs acting together give us a perfect knowledge of the orange, which no one organ taken singly can give. But such a co-operation is not possible. The mind which receives all impressions that come through the sense organs is not capable of receiving *at one moment*, impressions of different kinds – it cannot receive at one moment the sensations that come through more than one sense organ ; and this, in other words, means that in sense perception we have knowledge of only one kind. The Nyāya Sūtra says, “ The proof of the mind’s existence is the non-simultaneity of knowledge. ”¹ Śaṅkara also, accepts this view as we find in the Aitareya-Bhāṣya.² The rapidity of perceptual knowledge sometimes leads us to believe that there is simultaneity, but it is only succession with great rapidity, or, as it is said, it is like the piercing of lotus petals where the petals are really pierced successively, though with such rapidity that it appears as if simultaneous. Now, if we cannot have perception of all kinds simultaneously the mind cannot, at any rate, get a full picture of reality.

There is in the case of the mind another great difficulty which always limits its scope. Apart from personal capacity or

1 *Nyāyasūtra*, 1. 1. 6.

2 Introduction to *Aitareyopaniṣad-Bhāṣya*, 2. 1.

incapacity, and even granting tremendous capacity to the mind as we have done in the case of sense organs, there is a fundamental weakness which it can never overcome. European psychology has laid it down as a condition of knowledge that knowledge is possible only if the sensations are assimilated and discriminated from one another. These assimilations by comparison and discrimination show that there can be no knowledge unless the things of knowledge are taken as related. Śāṃkara holds the same opinion. "A thing can be understood as this or that," says he in his *Taittirīya Bhāṣya*, "after being compared or discriminated from similars and dissimilars."¹ In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Bhāṣya* while proving the separate existence of mind apart from sense organs he says, "So there is an organ called mind, because if anybody touches my back with hands or legs, I cannot see (whether he touches it with hand or leg), but still it is with help of mind that we can know whether it is hand or leg. Had there been no mind to discriminate between different sense impressions, there would have been no other means of differentiating among them"; and concludes, "That which discriminates is the mind".² To know anything is thus to know it as compared and contrasted, or in other words, as related. Here comes the difficulty. Comparison and contrast, as relations, always presuppose more than one thing, otherwise there can be no relation. The very notion of relation implies that there is more than one, that there is plurality. And plurality, again, means that every one of such things is finite. So we come to an impasse. There can be no knowledge unless things are thought of as related; there can be no relation unless there is plurality; and plurality means that things are limited. So we can say that the mind which deals with inter-related things, deals with plurality and consequently is always concerned with finite things. In other words in perception the mind knows only finite things. As for inference and analogy, they are frankly based on relation. In them we move from one term to another, and so the knowledge we get is always of finite things.

1 *Taittirīyopaniṣad-Bhāṣya*, 2. 6.

2 *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad-Bhāṣya*, 1. 5. 3.

We have seen, while discussing about the scope of the activity of the sense organs and the mind, that neither of them gives us a full picture of reality ; we see, from a different standpoint, that mind is constitutionally unfit to deal with anything which is not finite. What knowledge we get through sense organs and the mind is only knowledge of limited things. These are the reasons which make Śaṅkara to make such a bold and sweeping statement when he tells us, " What is known, is little."

2. Brahman cannot be known in Empirical Knowledge.

Even the knowledge of particular or limited things is possible only if the means of right knowledge and the mind can operate upon the object of knowledge. When we look at the vast world spread before us we see only a very insignificant part, nor has the mind the capacity to conceive a world so large in all its details and entirety ; but what insignificant part of the world we may know through organs or the mind, it is possible only because they have, so to say, jurisdiction over it i.e. because it is possible for them to operate upon it. But if they cannot operate, there can be no knowledge whatever. Such is the case with Brahman, Śaṅkara's reality.

As regards the Means of Right knowledge (Pramāṇas) they are unable to get any glimpse of Brahman. Brahman has neither colour, touch, taste, smell or sound, so that the five organs of knowledge, the doorways of perception, because they deal with colour, etc. cannot operate upon Brahman, which means that they cannot give knowledge, of Brahman in any way. "It is the nature of sense organs that they are concerned with external things, and not with Brahman".¹ If the organs of perceptual knowledge cannot know Brahman, then other pramāṇas which depend on perception also cannot. Inference depends upon perception for its data, but the data supplied by perception all relate to colour, touch, etc. and hence inference is bound to the domain of colour, touch, etc. Analogy, like inference, depends on perception for its data, and shares the same fate with inference. Perception,

1 *Brahmasūtra-Bhāṣya* I. 1. 2.

inference and analogy thus, being bound to colour etc. cannot give us any knowledge of Brahman which has no earthly qualities.

We come to the Vedas or Āgama pramāṇa. There are innumerable passages in Śaṅkara in which he advocates the cause of the Vedas as the only source of knowledge of Brahman. But we should be careful in judging the intention of Śaṅkara in making such statements. Like the theologians of mediaeval Europe, Śaṅkara argues that since no other pramāṇas can give us knowledge of Brahman, the Vedas are the only source of our knowledge of Brahman. But we are to note the sense in which Śaṅkara calls the Vedas to be the only source of knowledge about Brahman. Does he mean that the Vedas give us knowledge of Brahman in the sense that they bring about intuition of Brahman i. e. can we intuit Brahman by merely reading or hearing the Vedas? or does he mean that the Vedas only give us knowledge of Brahman in the sense that they give us mere information concerning Brahman? "The Vedic texts regarding Brahman merely inform," says Śaṅkara. Vacaspati commenting on this says, "The intuition of Brahman is not the effect of the study of the Vedas together with the Mīmāṃsā, but of (transcendental) perception."² The Vedas, thus, merely give us information about Brahman, but cannot make us intuit it.

We can therefore say that none of the pramāṇas can give us knowledge of Brahman. This has been clearly put by Śaṅkara in his *Gitā Bhāṣya* thus: "Brahman is called unknowable because it cannot be known by any of the pramāṇas."³ Śaṅkara in another place says, "The empirical knowledge (*laukikīdṛṣṭi*) is connected with colour etc. and so cannot know the *pratyagātman* (Brahman)."⁴

Another fundamental difficulty in our way of knowing Brahman through empirical knowledge in the subject-object relation involved therein. If we are to take the help of empi-

1 *Brahmasūtra-Bhāṣya*, 1. 1. I.

2 *Bhāmātī*, 1. 1. 1.

3 *Gitā-Bhāṣya*, 12. 3.

4 *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Bhāṣya*, 3. 4. 2.

rical knowledge in knowing Brahman, it follows that we are to know Brahman as an object of thought. This is what Śaṅkara thinks to be impossible. The reason for this is to be found in his identification of Ātman with Brahman. Śaṅkara says in his *Kenopaniṣad Bhāṣya*, "The Ātman of every individual cogniser is Brahman - this is the final conclusion of the Vedānta."¹ In his *Sūtra Bhāṣya* - "Ātman is Brahman."² But if the Ātman is identical with Brahman, the Ātman can never be made an object.³ Therefore, Brahman, because it is, the Ātman, can also never be made an object of thought. We have said while considering the possibility on the part of the sense organs and the mind to give us a knowledge of Brahman that they being concerned with colour etc., cannot comprehend Brahman which has no colour etc. But even if we grant for the sake of argument, that the *pramāṇas* can operate upon Brahman, yet we are unable to surpass the great difficulty just noticed. To know, an empirical knowledge, means, to know a thing, as an object of thought - this is the essential condition and characteristic of empirical knowledge. So, even if we admit that the *pramāṇas* can operate upon Brahman, we cannot, still, make the Ātman, and consequently Brahman, an object of thought. We thus see how the subject-object relation that is always present in empirical knowledge makes it impossible for us to know Brahman, the ultimate reality. The *Kenopaniṣad Bhāṣya* says: "Because the ears etc., get knowledge only because Brahman gets knowledge, so ears etc., cannot know Brahman, because Brahman cannot know itself (as an object). Though the mind can think, about other things, yet because Brahman is the real knower, the mind cannot know Brahman (because Brahman cannot know itself as an object)."⁴

3. Empirical Knowledge is not wrong but "Earthly."

Our criticism of empirical knowledge does not prove that it is false *per se*. It may be knowledge of particular or of related

1 *Kenopaniṣad-Bhāṣya*, 9. 1.

2 *Brahma Sūtra Bhāṣya*, 1. 1.21.

3 *Aitareyopaniṣad-Bhāṣya*, Introduction to Ch. II.

4 *Kenopaniṣad-Bhāṣya*, 1. 3.

things, but not wrong. Our knowledge of a tree is knowledge of an actually existing tree though it is of a particular and limited thing. Śaṅkara proves the existence of an actual world by an analysis of our knowledge as against the Vijñānavādis.¹ And he says, in his *Sūtra-Bhāṣya*² and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Bhāṣya*³ that knowledge is *Vastutantra* i.e. based on objects. But Brahman being ultimate reality, its failure to give knowledge of Brahman is its worst condemnation. Brahman is unlimited and unrelated, while it being concerned with particular and related things. Śaṅkara has characterised it as "earthly" (*marttya*). "Whatever is known is little, earthly, and is therefore, to be neglected (as earthly)" says Śaṅkara. "When Brahman is spoken of as unknowable" he continues, "it is meant to show that it is supermundane", so that empirical knowledge cannot know it."⁴ Empirical knowledge is not wrong so far as the empirical world is concerned, but it is incapable of giving knowledge of Brahman.

1 *Brahmasūtra-Bhāṣya*, 2. 2. 28ff.

2 *Brahmasūtra-Bhāṣya*, 1. 1. 2.

3 *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad-Bhāṣya*, 4. 5. 15.

4 *Kenopaniṣad-Bhāṣya*, 1. 4.

DHARMAKĪRTI'S TRILAKṢAṆAHETU

ATTACKED BY PĀTRAKESARI AND DEFENDED BY ŚĀNTARAKSITA

BY

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I have already alluded to the refutation of the doctrine of त्रिलक्षण by Vidyānanda-Pātrakesari with the help of the goddess Padmāvati in my paper entitled Bhartṛhari and Kumārila. I now propose to explain it fully. I shall therefore first give the story of Pātrakesari which contains this well-known verse.

अन्यथानुपपन्नत्वं यत्र तत्र त्रयेण किम् ।

नान्यथानुपपन्नत्वं यत्र तत्र त्रयेण किम् ॥

The story of Pātrakesari—

अत्रैव भरते क्षेत्रे पवित्रे श्रीजिनेशिनाम् ।

विचित्रैः पञ्चकल्याणैः सर्वभयप्रशमदैः ॥ १७ ॥

निवासे सारसपत्तेर्देशे श्रीमगधाभिधे ।

अहिच्छत्रे जगच्चित्रे नागरैर्नगरे वरे ॥ १८ ॥

पुण्यादवनिपालाख्यो राजा राजकलान्वितः ।

प्राज्यं राज्यं करोत्युच्चैर्विप्रैः पञ्चशतैर्वृतः ॥ १९ ॥

विप्रास्ते वेदवेदाङ्गपाग्नाः कुलगर्विताः ।

कृत्वा संध्याद्वये संध्यावन्दनां च निरन्तरम् ॥ २० ॥

विनोदेन जगत्पूज्यश्रीमत्पार्श्वजिनालये ।

दृष्ट्वा पार्श्वजिनं पूतं प्रवर्तन्ते स्वकर्मसु ॥ २१ ॥

एकदा ते तथा कृत्वा संध्यायां वन्दनां द्विजाः ।

जिनं द्रष्टुं समायाताः कौतुकाज्जिनमन्दिरे ॥ २२ ॥

देवागमाभिधं स्तोत्रं पठन्तं मुनिसत्तमम् ।

चारित्रभूषणं तत्र श्रीमत्पार्श्वजिनाग्रतः ॥ २३ ॥

दृष्ट्वा संपृष्टवानित्थं तन्मुख्यः पात्रकेसरी ।

स्वामिन्निभं स्तवं पूतं बुध्यसे स मुनिस्ततः ॥ २४ ॥

नाहं बुध्येऽर्थतश्चेति संजगौ प्राह स द्विजः ।

पुनः संपठ्यते स्तोत्रं भो मुने यतिसत्तम ॥ २५ ॥

ततस्तेन मुनीन्द्रेण देवागमनसंस्तवः ।

पठितः पदविश्रामैः सतां चेतोतुरञ्जनैः ॥ २६ ॥

शब्दतश्चैकसंस्थत्वात्तदासौ पात्रकेसरी ।

हेलया मानसे कृत्वा देवागमनसंस्तवम् ॥ २७ ॥

तदर्थं चिन्तयामास स्वाचित्ते चतुरोत्तमः ।
 ततो दर्शनमोहस्य क्षयोपशमलब्धितः ॥ २८ ॥
 यदुक्तं श्रीजिनेन्द्रस्य शासने वस्तुलक्षणम् ।
 जीवाजीवादिकं सत्यं तदवात्र त्रिविष्टप ॥ २९ ॥
 नान्यथेति समुत्पन्नजैनतत्त्वार्थसद्भाचः ।
 गत्वा गृहे पुनर्धीमान् स तत्रात्र वस्तुलक्षणम् ॥ ३० ॥
 चित्ते संचिन्तनं कुर्वन्रात्रौ विप्रकुलाग्रणीः ।
 जीवाजीवादिकं वस्तु प्रमेयं जिनशासने ॥ ३१ ॥
 तत्त्वज्ञानं प्रमाणं च प्रोक्तं तत्त्वार्थवेदिभिः ।
 लक्षणं नानुमानस्य भाषितं तच्च कटिहसम् ॥ ३२ ॥
 श्रीमज्जैनमतेऽस्तीति संदेहव्यग्रमानसः ।
 यावत्संतिष्ठत तावान्निजासनसुकम्पनात् ॥ ३३ ॥
 पद्मावत्या महादेव्या तत्रागत्य ससंभ्रमम् ।
 स द्विजो भणितस्तूर्णं भो धीमन् पात्रकेसरिन् ॥ ३४ ॥
 प्रातः श्रीपाश्र्वनाथस्य दशनदेव निश्चयः ।
 लक्षणे चानुमानस्य संभविष्यति ते तस्मात् ॥ ३५ ॥
 इत्युक्त्वा संलिखत्वेति पार्श्वेशफणमण्डपे ।
 सा गता ह्यनुमानस्य लक्षणं श्लोकमुत्तमम् ॥ ३६ ॥
 “अन्यथानुपपन्नत्वं यत्र तत्र त्रयेण किम् ।
 नान्यथानुपपन्नत्वं यत्र तत्र त्रयेण किम्” ॥ ३६ & ॥
 देवता दर्शनादेव संजाता तस्य शर्मदा ।
 श्रीमज्जैनमते श्रद्धा भवभ्रमणनाशिनी ॥ ३७ ॥
 प्रभाते परमानन्दात्पार्श्वनाथं प्रपश्यतः ।
 फणाटोपेऽनुमानस्य लक्षणश्लोकदर्शनात् ॥ ३८ ॥
 जातस्तल्लक्षणोत्कृष्टनिश्चयश्च द्विजन्मनः ।
 भास्करस्योदय जाते न तिष्ठति तमो यथा ॥ ३९ ॥
 ततोऽसौ ब्राह्मणाधाशः पवित्रः पात्रकसरी ।
 प्रहर्षाश्रितसर्वाङ्गने जिनधर्ममहाराचः ॥ ४० ॥
 देवोर्हन्नेव निर्दोषः ससाराम्भोधितारकः ।
 अयमेव महाधर्मो लोकद्वयसुखप्रदः ॥ ४१ ॥
 एवं दर्शनमोहस्य क्षयोपशमयोगतः ।
 अमृदुत्पन्नसम्यक्त्वरत्नराजितमानसः ॥ ४२ ॥
 तथानिशं जनेन्द्राक्तं तत्त्वं त्रैलोक्यपूजितम् ।
 पुनः पुनर्महाप्रीत्या भावयन्पात्रकेसरी ॥ ४३ ॥
 तैर्द्विजैर्भणितश्चैवं किं मीमांसादिकं त्वया ।
 त्यक्त्वा संस्मर्यते जैनमतं नित्यमहो हृदि ॥ ४४ ॥

तच्छ्रुत्वा भणितास्तेन ते विप्रा वेदगर्विताः ।
 अहो द्विजा जिनेन्द्राणां मतं सर्वमतोत्तमम् ॥ ४५ ॥
 अतः कारणतः कष्टं त्यक्त्वा मिथ्याकुमार्गकम् ।
 भवद्विश्वापि विद्वद्भिः संग्राह्यं जैनशासनम् ॥ ४६ ॥
 ततो राजादिसान्निध्ये पात्रकेसरिणा खुदा ।
 जित्वा सर्वाद्विजांस्तांश्च विवादेन स्वलीलया ॥ ४७ ॥
 समर्थ्यशासनं जैनं त्रैलोक्यप्राणिशर्मदं ।
 स्वसम्यक्त्वगुणं सारं संप्रकाश्य पुनः पुनः ॥ ४८ ॥
 कृतोऽन्यमताविध्वंसो जिनेन्द्रगुणसंस्तुतिः ।
 संस्तवः परमानन्दात्समस्तसुखदायकः ॥ ४९ ॥
 पात्रकेसरिणं दृष्ट्वा ततः सर्वगुणाकरम् ।
 सारपण्डितसंदोहसमर्चितपदद्वयम् ॥ ५० ॥
 ते सर्वेऽवनिपालाद्यास्यक्त्वा मिथ्यामतं व्रुतम् ।
 भूत्वा जैनमतेऽन्यन्तं संसक्ताः शुद्धमानसाः ॥ ५१ ॥
 गृहीत्वा सारसम्यक्त्वं संसाराम्भोधितारणम् ।
 प्राप्य श्रीजैनसद्धर्मं स्वमोक्षसुखकारणम् ॥ ५२ ॥
 त्वं भो द्विजोत्तमं श्रीमज्जैनधर्मे विचक्षणः ।
 त्वमेव श्रीजिनेन्द्रोक्त सारतत्त्वप्रवीक्षणः ॥ ५३ ॥
 त्वं हि श्रीजिनपादाब्जसेवनैकमधुव्रतः ।
 इत्युच्चैः स्तवनाद्यैस्तं पूजयन्ति स्म भक्तिः ॥ ५४ ॥
 इत्थं श्रीशिवशर्मदं शुचितरं सम्यक्त्वमुद्योतनं
 कृत्वा प्राप नरेन्द्रपूजनपदं पात्रादिकः केसरी ।
 अन्यश्चापि जिनेन्द्रशासनरतः सदृशोद्योतनं
 भक्त्या यस्तु करोति निर्मलयशाः स स्वर्गमोक्षं भजेत् ॥ ५५ ॥

Kathākoṣa.

This story is thus alluded to in the Śravaṇa Belgol-inscription No. 54, dated Śake 1050.

महिमा स पात्रकेसरिगुरोः परं भवति यस्य भक्त्यासीत् ।
 पद्मावती सहाया त्रिलक्षणकदर्थनं कर्तुम् ॥

Exceedingly great is the glory of Pātrakesari since, owing to his devotion the goddess Padmāvatī assisted him in refuting the doctrine of Tri-lakṣaṇa, which is expressed in the well-known verse quoted in the above story.

अन्यथानुपपन्नत्वं यत्र तत्र त्रयेण किम् ।
 नान्यथानुपपन्नत्वं यत्र तत्र त्रयेण किम् ॥

This doctrine is explained by Dharmakīrti thus :-

अनुमानं द्विधा । स्वार्थं परार्थं च । तत्र स्वार्थं त्रिरूपालिङ्गादनुमेये ज्ञानं तदनुमानम् । प्रमाणफलव्यवधात्रापि प्रत्यक्षवत् । त्रैरूप्यं पुनर्लिङ्गास्यानुमेये सत्त्वमेव । सपक्षे सत्त्वमेव । असपक्षे चासत्त्वमेव निश्चितम् । त्रिरूपाणि च त्रीण्येव लिङ्गानि अनुपलब्धिः स्वभावकार्ये चेति ।

Nyāyabindu Chap. II.

Let us now turn to Pātrakesari Vidyānanda who devotes the greater part of the fifth chapter of his Tattvārthaslokavārtik-ālamkāra, pp. 198-217. Nirnayasagar ed., to the refutation of this doctrine. Both the text and the commentary are by Pātrakesari himself. He thus begins his refutation of Dharmakīrti's doctrine—

“त्रिरूपालिङ्गादनुमेये ज्ञानमनुमानमिति” परमतमुपदर्शयन्नाह—

“निश्चितं पक्षधर्मत्वं विपक्षेसत्त्वमेव च ।

सपक्ष एव जन्मत्वं तत्त्वयं हेतुलक्षणम्” ॥ ११३ ॥

केचिदाहुर्न तद्युक्तं हेत्वाभासेपि संभवात् ।

असाधारणतापायाल्लक्षणत्वविरोधतः ॥

वक्तृत्वादावसार्वज्ञसाधने त्रयमीक्ष्यते ।

न हेतुत्वं विना साध्याभावासंभूयतां यतः ॥

“सर्वज्ञत्वेन वक्तृत्वं विरुद्धं न विनिश्चितम् ।

ततो न तस्य हेतुत्वमि” त्याचक्षणकः¹ स्वयम् ॥

तदेकलक्षणं हेतौलक्ष्यत्येव तत्त्वतः ।

साध्याभावविरोधो हि हेतोर्नान्यस्ततो मतः ॥

तदिष्टौ तु त्रयेणापि पक्षधर्मादिनात्र किम् ।

तदभावेऽपि हेतुत्वासिद्धेः कचिदसंशयम् ॥

पक्षधर्मत्वशून्योऽयं हेतुः स्यादेकलक्षणः ।

उदेष्यच्छकटं व्योम कृत्तिकोदयवत्त्वतः ॥

इति प्रयोगतः पक्षधर्मतामेष्यते यदि ।

तदा धूमोग्निमानेष धूमत्वादिति गद्यताम् ॥

ततः स्वभावहेतुः स्यात्सर्वो लिङ्गास्त्रिवान्न ते ।

यदि लोकांतुरोधेन भिन्नाः संबन्धभेदतः ॥

1 यथा सर्वज्ञः कश्चिद्विपक्षितः पुरुषो रागादिमान्वेति साध्ये वक्तृत्वादिको धर्मः सैव विपक्षव्याश्रितः ।स च द्विविधोऽपि विरोधो वक्तृव्यसर्वज्ञयोर्न संभवति

विषयस्य च भेदेन कार्याद्यनुपलब्धयः ।
किं न तादात्म्यतज्जन्मसंबन्धाभ्यां विलक्षणात् ॥
अन्यथानुपपन्नत्वाद्धेतुः स्यात्कृतिकोदयः ।

In the course of this interesting discussion Pātrakesari observes—

साध्याभावे विपक्षे तु योऽसत्त्वस्यैव निश्चयः ।
सोविनाभाव एवास्तु हेतो रूपात्तथाह च ॥
अन्यथानुपपन्नत्वं यत्र तत्र त्रयेण किम् ।
नान्यथानुपपन्नत्वं यत्र तत्र त्रयेण किम् ॥

यथा चैवमन्यथानुपपन्नत्वानियमे सति हेतोर्न किञ्चित्त्रयेण पक्षधर्मत्वादीनामन्यतमेनैव पर्याप्तत्वात्तस्यैवान्यथानुपपन्नस्वभावसिद्धेरिति च तस्मिंस्तत्त्रयस्य हेत्वाभासगतस्येवाकिञ्चित्करत्वं युक्तं ।

तद्धेतोस्त्रिषु रूपेषु निर्णयो येन वर्णितः ।
असिद्धविपरीतार्थव्यभिचारि विपक्षतः ॥
तेन कृतं तु निर्णीतं हेतोर्लक्षणमञ्जसा ।
हेत्वाभासाव्यवच्छेदि तद्वदेत्कथमन्यथा ॥

The first of the two last quoted verses is an imitation of Dharmakīrti's Kārikā which is cited and explained in the following passage—

पक्षधर्मत्वं हि तस्यासिद्धत्वव्यवच्छेदार्थं लक्षणं निश्चीयते । सपक्ष एव सत्त्वं तु विरुद्ध-
व्यवच्छेदार्थम् । विचक्षे चासत्त्वमेवानैकान्तिकव्यवच्छिन्नये । तदनिश्चये साधनस्या-
सिद्धत्वादिदोषत्रयपरिहारासंभवात् । उक्तं च ।

हेतोस्त्रिष्वपि रूपेषु निर्णयस्तेन वर्णितः ।
असिद्धविपरीतार्थव्यभिचारि विपक्षतः ॥

इत्याशङ्क्याह

साध्याविनाभावित्वेन निश्चितो हेतुः

[Parikṣāmukha III, 15]

Prameya Kamalamārtanḍa, Nirṇaya S. ed. p. 102 (b).

The gloss on the word तेन says that Dignāga is referred to here. It is thus plain that the Kārikā belongs to Dharmakīrti who is the Vārtikakāra of Dignāga. This view is confirmed by the following passage in which Sureśvara's attack on Dharmakīrti is explained.

अथान्यापोहवद्वस्तु गम्यं गमकमेव च ।
वक्तव्यं तत्र किं मानमदृष्टौ न त्रिरूपता ॥

Ānandagiri explains पक्षधर्मत्वं सपक्षे सत्त्वं विपक्षाद्व्यावृत्तिरिति त्रिरूपता सिद्धिरनुमानं हि त्रिरूपाह्लिङ्गतोऽर्थज्ञानार्थमिति स्थितं नहि धर्मिण्यप्रामिते धर्मप्रामितिः । तथा च

हेतोस्त्रिष्वपिरूपेषु निश्चयस्तेन वर्णितः ।

असिद्धविपरीतार्थव्यभिचारिर्विपक्षतः ॥

इत्युपेक्षितमिति भावः

Bṛhadāraṇyakavārtika, Ānandāśrama ed., Vol. III, p. 1521.

Sureśvara says that Dharmakīrti, in maintaining अन्यापोह, abandons the त्रिलक्षणहेतु described by himself in the above कारिका.

In the Pramāṇaparīkṣā also Pātrakesari quotes this verse of Dharmakīrti and says—

अथ मतमेतत्पक्षधर्मत्वम् असिद्धत्वम्¹ असिद्धत्वव्यवच्छेदार्थं साधनस्य लक्षणं निश्चीयते । सपक्ष एव सत्त्वं विरुद्धत्वव्यवच्छेदाय । विपक्षचासत्त्वं अनेकान्तिकत्वव्यवच्छिद्यते । तदनिश्चये हेतोरसिद्धत्वादिदोषत्रयपरिहारसंभवात् त्रैरूप्यं तल्लक्षणं सफलमेव तदुक्तम् :—

हेतोस्त्रिष्वपि रूपेषु निर्णयस्तेन वर्णितः

असिद्धविपरीतार्थव्यभिचारि विपक्षतः इति ॥

तदप्यपरीक्षिताभिधानं संगतस्य [[धर्मकीर्तेः] हेतोरन्यथानुपपत्तिनियमनिश्चयोदव दोषत्रयपरिहारसिद्धेः स्वयमसिद्धस्यान्यथानुपपत्तिनियमनिश्चयासंभवात् ॥

..... ततोऽसाधारण लक्षणमाचक्षणेन्यथानुपपन्नत्वमेव नियतं हेतुलक्षणं प(क)क्षी-
कर्तव्यं । तथोक्तं अन्यथानुपपन्नत्वं यत्र तत्र त्रयेण किं—

नान्यथानुपपन्नत्वं यत्र तत्र त्रयेण किं ॥ १ ॥

This subject is also dealt with in the Aṣṭasahasrī, Nirṇayasagara ed. p. 289. From the passages cited above from the Ślokavārtika the Prameyakamalamārtanda and the Pramāṇaparīkṣā it is obvious that the त्रिलक्षणहेतु of Dharmakīrti is refuted by Pātrakesarisvāmi. Like Sureśvara he also criticises स्वभाव, कार्य and अनुपलब्धि and the various kinds of अनुपलब्धि described by Dharmakīrti in the Nyāyabindu.

These views of Pātrakesarisvāmi are severely criticised by the celebrated Buddhist author Śāntarakṣita whose disciple Kamalaśīla refers to the author of the Ślokavārtika, as Pātra-
svāmi, by the shorter name according to Pāṇini V. 3. 83 Vārtika. Śāntarakṣita quotes Pātrakesari's well-known verse thus :—

1. Omit असिद्धत्वम्.

अन्यथानुपपन्नत्वं यस्य तस्यैव हेतुता ।

दृष्टान्तौ द्वावपि स्तां वा मा वा तौ हि न कारणम् ॥ १३६८ ॥

नान्यथानुपपन्नत्वं यत्र तत्र त्रयेण किम् ।

अन्यथानुपपन्नत्वं यत्र तत्र त्रयेण किम् ॥ १३६९ ॥

Tattvasaṃgraha Vol. I, p. 406

Kamalaśīla remarks—

अन्यथानुपपन्नं यत्रेत्यस्यानन्तरं नान्यथानुपपन्नेत्यस्यार्द्धस्य पाठः कर्तव्यः ॥ He means to say that his teacher has made a mistake in reversing the natural order of the two lines as they appear in the Tattvārhasloka-vārtika and the Pramāṇaparīkṣā of his predecessor Pātrakesari. We have seen that Pātrakesariśvāmi has attacked the trilakṣaṇahetu of Dharmakīrti. Śāntarākṣita is defending this doctrine as will be presently shown.

Let us first turn to the following passage in the Tattvārthasloka-vārtika :

तदेवं सहचरोपलब्ध्यादीनां कार्यस्वभावानुपलब्धिभ्योन्यत्वभाजां व्यवस्थापनात्ततो न्ये हेत्वाभासा एवेति न वक्तव्यं सौगतैरित्युपदर्शयति ;—

“ पक्षधर्मस्तद्देशेन^१ व्याप्तो हेतुस्त्रिधैव सः । अविनाभावानियमादिति ” वाच्यं न धीमता ॥ ३०२ ॥

पक्षधर्मात्यये युक्ताः सहचार्यादयो यतः । सत्यं च हेतवो नातो हेत्वाभासास्तथापरे ॥ ३०३ ॥

त्रिधैव वाविनाभावानियमाद्धेतुरास्थितः । कार्यादिर्नान्य इत्येषा व्याख्यैतेन निराकृता ॥ ३०४ ॥

Invariable association of two things such as कृत्तिका and रोहिणी, which is different from कार्य, स्वभाव and अनुपलब्धि, being established, Dharmakīrti's view that anything that is not कार्य &c. is a fallacy, necessarily falls to the ground. This is confirmed by two illustrations.

(a) स इयामस्तत्पुत्रत्वात्.

(b) उद्देष्यति शकटं कृत्तिकोदयात्.

The former is a well-known instance of a fallacy called अनैकान्तिक. Pātrakesari says—

न च सपक्षे सत्त्वं पक्षधर्मत्वं विपक्षे चासत्त्वमात्रं साधनलक्षणं पश्यामस्तत्पुत्रादितर-
तत्पुत्रादित्यत्र साधनाभासे तत्सद्भावसिद्धेः । सपक्षे हीतरतत्पुत्रे तत्पुत्रत्वस्य साधनस्य
इयामत्वव्याप्तस्य सत्त्वं प्रसिद्धं । विवादाध्यासिते च तत्पुत्रे पक्षीकृते तत्पुत्रत्वस्य सद्भावात्

1. पक्षधर्मस्तद्देशेन व्याप्तो हेतुस्त्रिधैव सः ।

अविनाभाव नियमाद्धेतवाभासस्ततोऽपरः ॥ Dharmakīrti.

पक्षधर्मत्वं । विपक्षे वाऽऽयामेकचिदन्यपुत्रे तत्पुत्रस्याभावात् विपक्षेऽसत्त्वमात्रं च । न च तावता साध्यसाधनत्वं साधनस्य । Here all the sons of Maitra, that we see, are brown. The son, that is next to be born to him, is पक्ष here. The question is whether the new son will be brown. This is साध्य. The reason हेतु is तत्पुत्रत्व. This is found in the पक्ष the son to be born. It is also found in the present sons of Maitra, who are सपक्ष. It is absent from the sons of Caitra who are विपक्ष. In spite of this fact the possibility that the son to be born may be fair and not brown is not excluded by this argument which is on that account inconclusive. Thus the विलक्षण of Dharmakīrti is fallacious.

The reply of Śāntarakṣita runs thus—

तत्पुत्रत्वादिहेतूनां संदिग्धव्यतिरेकतः ।

न त्रैलक्षण्यसम्भावो विजातीयाविरोधतः ॥ १४१६ ॥

कर्माहारादिहेतूनां सर्वथापि विशेषतः

संभाव्यतेऽन्यथाभावस्तत्पुत्रत्वेऽपि तस्य हि ॥ १४१७ ॥

नार्यं स्वभावः कार्यं वा दृश्यस्याद्वाष्टिरेव वा ।

न च तद्व्यतिरिक्तस्य भवत्यव्यभिचारिता ॥ १४१८ ॥

Tattvasaṃgraha pp. 415 ff.

Kamalaśīla remarks—

शुभादिकर्मविशेषादुष्णशीताद्याहारावस्थाभेदाश्चान्यथाभावो गौरादित्वं संभाव्यत इति कुतो विरोधः, (अविरोधः) कारणभेदस्य सिद्धत्वात् । The fairness of the child to be born is due to special meritorious actions or the eating of particular kinds of food generating heat or cold on the part of the parents. तत्पुत्रत्व is not the cause, as it is neither स्वभाव nor कार्य nor अनुपलब्धि without which invariable concomitance is never found. Thus the soundness of Dharmakīrti's विलक्षण is upheld.

The second illustration is उद्देष्ट्यति; शकटं कृत्तिकोदयात् ; Pātrakesari remarks अस्य पक्षधर्मत्वाभावेऽपि प्रयोजकत्वव्यवस्थितेः । न हि शकटे धर्मिण्युद्देष्ट्यतायां साध्यायां कृत्तिकाया उदयोऽस्ति तस्य कृत्तिकाधर्मत्वात् ततो न पक्षधर्मत्वं । Here विलक्षण fails, one लक्षण being wanting.

Śāntarakṣita replies the rise of Śakata is साध्य, and the rise of कृत्तिका is साधन. प्रतिबन्ध which means inseparable connection between साध्य and साधन is essential. रोहिण्यासत्त्या तर्हि कृत्तिकोदयस्य कः प्रतिबन्ध इत्याह—प्रभञ्जनेत्यादि ।

प्रभञ्जनविशेषस्य कृत्तिकोदयकारणम् ।

यः स एव हि संतत्या रोहिण्यासत्तिकारणम् ॥ १४२४ ॥

Tattvasamgraha Vol. 1, p. 417.

A stormy gale brings about the rise of कृत्तिका; the same also causes the rise of शक्र due to inseparable connection. Thus Pātrakesari's second argument is amply refuted.

It may be of interest to learn that the following verses occurring in the *Bṛhadāraṇyakavārtika* of Suresvara, which are cited in the *Aṣṭasahasrī* and the *Prameyakamalamārtanda*, are also quoted by Kamalaśīla,

यथा विशुद्धमाकाशं तिमिरोपप्लुतोजनः ।

संकीर्णमिव मात्राभिस्त्रित्राभिरभिमन्यते ॥

तथेदमद्यतं ब्रह्म निर्विकारमविद्यया ।

कलुषत्वमिवापन्नं भेदरूपं विवर्ततः ॥

to explain the following verse of Śāntarakṣita,

अथाविभागमेवेदं ब्रह्मतत्त्वं सदा स्थितम् ।

अविद्योपप्लुतलोको विचित्रं त्वभिमन्यते ॥ १४४ ॥

Tattvasamgraha.

This is the doctrine of Śaṅkarācārya. It is thus clear that both Śaṅkarācārya and Suresvara preceded Śāntarakṣita.

In his foreword to the excellent edition of the *Tattvasamgraha* published in the Gaikwad's Oriental Series, Dr. B. Bhattacharya has propounded, a theory according to which Pātrasvāmi was a different man, who lived prior to A. D. 700 and from whom Śāntarakṣita and Pātrakesarīsvāmi copied the well-known verse, which begins, according to Śāntarakṣita, with नान्यथानुपपन्नत्वं, but according to Kamalaśīla and Pātrakesarīsvāmi, with अन्यथानुपपन्नत्वं. This difference in the order of the two lines ought to have awakened Dr. Bhattacharya to the necessity of carefully examining the works of Pātrakesari before accusing him of a literary theft. The traditional, epigraphical and other evidence, which is set forth above, is however, in my opinion adequate to the purpose of rebutting this charge. This evidence apart, we have the following interesting information supplied by Pātrakesari himself which entirely decides the matter in his favour :—

त्रिरूपहेतुनिष्ठानवानेनैव निराकृते ।

हेतोः पञ्चस्वभावत्वे तद्भेदे यतनेन किम् ॥ १९३ ॥

न हि स्याद्वादिनामयमेव पक्षो यत्स्वयं पञ्चरूपत्वं हेतोर्निराकर्तव्यमिति त्रिरूपव्यवस्थानवादिनापि तस्मिन्निराकरणस्याभिमतत्वात् परमतमभिमतप्रतिषिद्धमिति वचनात् तदलमत्राभिप्रेयतनेनेति हेतुलक्षणं वार्तिककारेणैवमुक्तं

“अन्यथानुपपन्नत्वं यत्र तत्र त्रयेण किम्” इति

Tattvārthasloka-vārtika p. 205.

The वार्तिककार is Pātrakesarisvāmi himself. The chronological relations existing between Pātrakesari, Śāntaraksita and Pātrakesari's junior contemporary Prabhācandra will be discussed in my next paper.

ŚĀNTARAKṢITA, KAMALĀSĪLA AND PRABHĀCANDRA

BY

DR. K. B. PATHAK, B. A., Ph. D.

Prabhācandra in his *Prameya Kamalamārtanda* discusses the Buddhist doctrine of *अन्यापोह*. He says if by the word *गो* the exclusion of the idea of *गो* is principally understood, then a person on hearing the word *गो* ought, first of all, to get the idea of *अगौ*: (not a cow) but this is not a fact, as in that case, the idea of a cow would never arise.

तथा चान्यापोहमात्राभिधायित्वं शब्दानां श्रद्धामात्रगम्यम् । किंचान्यापोहमात्राभिधायित्वे प्रतीतिविरोधो गवादिशब्देभ्यो विधिरूपावसायेन प्रत्ययप्रतीतिः । अन्यनिषेधमात्राभिधायित्वे च तत्रैव चरितार्थत्वात्सत्तादिमतोर्थस्यातोऽप्रतीतिः तद्विषयाया गवादिबुद्धेर्जनकोन्यो ध्वनिरन्वेषणीयः । अथैकेनैव गोशब्देन बुद्धिद्वयस्योत्पादान्न परो ध्वनिर्भूयते न एकस्य विधिकारिणो निषेधकारिणो वा ध्वनेर्भूयद्विज्ञानद्वयलक्षणफलानुपलम्भाद्विधिनिषेधज्ञानयोश्चान्योन्यं प्रति कथमेकस्मात्संभवः ।

यदि च गोशब्देनागोशब्दनिवृत्तिर्मुख्यतः प्रतिपद्यते तर्हि गोशब्दश्रवणानन्तरं प्रथमतरमगौरित्येषा श्रोतुः प्रतिपत्तिर्भवेत् । न चैवम् अतो गोबुद्ध्यनुत्पत्तिप्रसङ्गात् । तदुक्तम् ।

नन्वन्यापोहकृच्छब्दो शुष्मत्पक्षेऽनुवर्णितः ।

निषेधमात्रं नैवेह प्रतिभासेऽवगम्यते ॥ १ ॥

किंतु गौर्गवयो हस्ती वृक्ष इत्यादि शब्दतः ।

विधिरूपावसायेन मतिः शाब्दी प्रवर्तते ॥ २ ॥

यदि गौरित्ययं शब्दः समर्थोन्यनिवर्तने ।

जनको गवि गोबुद्धि (द्धे) भूयतामपरो ध्वनिः ॥ ३ ॥

ननु ज्ञानफलाः शब्दा न चैकस्य फलद्वयम् ।

अपवादविधिज्ञानं फलमेकस्य वः कथम् ॥ ४ ॥

प्रागगौरिति विज्ञानं गोशब्दश्राविणो भवेत् ।

येनागोः प्रतिषेधाय प्रवृत्तो गौरिति ध्वनिः ॥ ५ ॥

Prameya Kamala-Mārtanda, Nirnayasagara ed. pp. 125 a & b.

Translation.

It is objected that according to your (Buddhist) view a word is described as denoting *अन्यापोह* (exclusion of other ideas than *गो*); mere negation is never known from the impression, but

from the words गौः, गवयः, हस्ती and वृक्षः a positive well-defined notion arises. If this word गौः is adequate to the exclusion of other ideas, let another sound be looked for as the producer of the idea of a cow in the case of [the animal] cow. Indeed words have knowledge for their object; a single word cannot have two objects. How can, in your opinion, a single word denote a positive and a negative idea? How can the idea of no cow first occur to a person on hearing the word cow so that the sound गौः can prevail in excluding the idea of no cow?

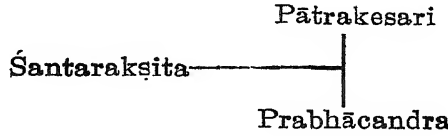
The five verses introduced by Prabhācandra with the words तदुक्तम् are also found in the Tattvasaṃgraha of Śāntaraksita thus :-

नन्वन्यापोहकृच्छब्दो युष्माभिः कथमुच्यते ।
 निषेधमात्रं नैवेह प्रतिभासेऽवगम्यते ॥ ११० ॥
 किंतु गौर्गवयो हस्ती वृक्षश्चेत्यादि शब्दतः ।
 विदिरूपायसायेन मतिः शाब्दी प्रवर्तते ॥ १११ ॥
 यदि गौ (गिति शब्दोऽयं भेदे) न्यनिराकृतौ ।
 जनको गवि गोबुद्धेर्दृश्यतामपरो ध्वनिः ॥ ११२ ॥
 न तु (तु) ज्ञानफलाः (शब्दा न चैकस्य फलद्वयम्) यम् ।
 अपवादविधि (ज्ञानं फलमेकस्य वा (वः) कथम्) ॥ ११३ ॥
 प्रागगौरिति विज्ञानं गोशब्दश्राविणो भवेत् ।
 येनागोः प्रतिषेधाय प्रवृत्तो गौरिति ध्वनिः ॥ ११४ ॥

The Commentator Kamalaśīla tells us that the last three verses belong to Bhāmaha. From this statement it may be safely concluded that the first two verses were composed by Śāntaraksita himself. Let us now turn to Bhāmaha who says :-

अन्यापोहे तु (न) शब्दोर्थमाहेत्यन्ये प्रचक्षते ।
 अन्यापोहश्च नामान्यवा (प) दार्था सा (पा) कृतिः किल ॥ १६ ॥
 यदि नाम गौरित्ययं शब्दः कृतार्थोऽन्यनिराकृतौ ।
 जनको गवि गोबुद्धेर्दृश्यतामपरो ध्वनिः ॥ १७ ॥
 अर्थज्ञानफलाः शब्दा न चैकस्य फलद्वयम् ।
 अपवादविधिज्ञाने फले चैकस्य वः कथम् ॥ १८ ॥
 पुरागौरिति विज्ञानं गोशब्दश्रवणाद्भवेत् ।
 येनागोः प्रतिषेधाय प्रवृत्तो गौरिति ध्वनिः ॥ १९ ॥

If we compare the three passages cited above, we shall feel convinced that Pātrakesari, Śāntaraksita and Prabhācandra were contemporary authors. Their chronological relations may be indicated thus :—



These authors may be assigned to the ninth century. That Bhāmaha belongs to the middle of the eighth century will be proved elsewhere.

The most interesting point to be noticed here is that Prabhācandra copies Kamalaśīla's commentary explaining Kumāraśīla's attacks on the अपोहवाद, which are quoted by Śāntaraksita, as is evident from the following passage—

गव्यसिद्धेत्वगौर्नास्ति तदभावे प्यगौः कुतः ।

नाधाराधेयवृत्त्यादिसंबन्धश्चाप्यभावयोः ॥ ३ ॥

दिग्नागेन विशेषणविशेष्यभावसमर्थनार्थं नीलोत्पलादिशब्दा अर्थान्तरनिवृत्तिविशिष्टानर्थानाहुरित्युक्तम् । तदयुक्तम् । यस्यहि येन कश्चिद्व्यस्तवः संबन्धः सिद्धस्तत्तेन विशिष्टमिति वक्तुं युक्तम् । न च नीलोत्पलयोरनीलानुत्पलव्यवच्छेदरूपत्वेनाभावरूपयोराधाराधेयत्वादिः संबन्धः संभवति — नीरूपत्वात् । आदिग्रहणेन संयोगसमवायैकार्थसमवायादि संबन्धग्रहणम् । न चासति वास्तवे संबन्धे तद्विशिष्टस्य प्रतिपत्तिर्युक्ताऽतिप्रसङ्गात् । नास्माकमनीलादिव्यावृत्त्या विशिष्टोऽनुत्पलादिव्यवच्छेदोऽभिमतो यतोयं दोषः स्यात् । किं तर्हि ? अनीलानुत्पलाभ्यां व्यावृत्तवस्त्वेव तथा व्यवसितम् ।

Prameyakamalamārtanḍa, Nirṇayasagar ed., p. 126 (b).

Tattvasaṃgraha. Vol. I, pp. 300 & 301.

It is needless to state that all these authors were contemporaries, the Jaina author Prabhācandra being the latest of them. It may be remarked that Prabhācandra, when a mere boy, must have approached the feet of Akalaṅkadeva or seen him.

ŚAMKARĀCĀRYA ATTACKED BY VIDYĀNANDA

BY

DR. K. B. PATHAK, B. A., Ph. D.

I have presented to Sanskrit scholars many verses occurring in the Bṛhadāraṇyakavārtika of Sureśvarācārya, the direct disciple of Saṃkarācārya, which are quoted by Vidyānanda in his Aṣṭasaḥsri and by Prabhācandra in his Prameyakamalamārtanda and by Kamalaśīla in his commentary on Tattvasaṃgraha. I now hasten to place before them the following interesting reference to Saṃkarācārya himself in the Āptaparīkṣā and its commentary. It must be distinctly stated here that the text of the Āptaparīkṣā is the work of Vidyānanda ; and the commentary was also composed by himself as we learn from his own lips ;

विद्यानन्दाहिमाचलमुखपद्माविनिर्गता सुगम्भीरा ।

आप्तपरीक्षाटीका गङ्गावच्छिन्नतरं जयतु ॥

Āptaparīkṣā, Benares Edn. p. 65.

Let us now turn to the interesting passage, in which Saṃkarācārya is actually mentioned, and his doctrine refuted :

सांप्रतं शंकरमतमाशङ्क्य दृषयन्नाह -

यथाऽनीशः स्वदेहस्य कर्ता देहान्तरान्मतः ।

पूर्वस्मादित्यनादित्वान्नानवस्था प्रसज्यते ॥ २१ ॥

तथेशस्यापि पूर्वस्माद्देहाद्देहान्तरोद्भवात् ।

नानवस्थेति यो ब्रूयात्तस्यानीशत्वमीशितुः ॥ २२ ॥

अनीशः कर्मदेहेनाऽनादिसंतानवर्तिना ।

यथैव सकर्मानस्तद्वन्न कथमीश्वरः ॥ २३ ॥

न ह्यनीशः स्वशरीरस्य शरीरान्तरेण विना कर्ता प्रतिवादिनः सिद्धोयमुदाहरणीकृत्या-
शरीरस्यापीशस्य स्वशरीरनिर्माणाय सामर्थ्यं समर्थ्यते अनवस्था चापाद्यमाना निषि-
ध्यते । पूर्वपूर्वशरीरापेक्षयापि तदुत्तरोत्तरशरीरकरणे । किं तर्हि कार्मणशरीरेण सशरीर
एवानीशः शरीरान्तरमुपभोगयोग्यं निष्पादयतीति परस्य सिद्धान्तः तथा यदीशः पूर्वकर्मदेहेन
स्वदेहमुत्तरं निष्पादयेत्तदा सकर्मा एव स्यात् न शश्वत्कर्मभिरस्पृष्टः सिद्धयेत्तस्यानीशव-
दनादिसंतानवर्तिना कर्मशरीरेण संबन्धसिद्धेः । सकलकर्मणोप्यपाये स्वशरीरकरणा-
योगान्मुक्तवत् सर्वथा निःकर्मणोऽबुद्धीच्छब्दप्रयत्नासंभवस्यापि साधनात् ॥

SANDROKOTTOS

WHAT DID THE INITIAL S IN THE NAME REPRESENT ?

BY

N. B. DIVATIA, B. A.

In my discussion on the Prakrit sound of the palatals, च, छ, ज, झ, (pp. 340 to 359 of my *Gujarātī Language and Literature*, Vol.I.) I have suggested that the Prakrit sound of च in *Candragupta* was the source of the S in the Greek conversion of the name. I need not reproduce even the substance of the discussion. My object in writing today is to examine an opposite theory advanced by Principal A. B. Dhruva of the Benares Hindu University. In the course of an erudite series of Lectures delivered by him at the Bombay University (Wilson Philological Lectures) in February 1930, he contended that the च in this name was actually sounded as the Sanskrit pure palatal, and not the Prakrit dento-palatal, sound, and the Greeks *heard* it wrong and so they converted it into S.

Was this possible ? I ask. The pure palatal sound is not allied, while the Prakrit sound is allied, to the S sound. The illusion in the Greek ear must have some basis in the shape of an element of similarity. In the case of optical illusion like a rope being mistaken as a snake (रज्जु seen as सर्प) there is the substratum of the सादृश्य element : a रज्जु could not be mistaken as a कमण्डलु for instance. The Greeks did not convert the name of Candragupta into, say, *Tandrakottos*, for instance. It was the S element in the dento-palatal (ts) sound of च which cast the image of स on the Greek ear strongly, for this च was not च्य sound so to say, but त्स sound. In the dento-palatal the S element is predominant, while in the pure palatal the य element is predominant. It was therefore that the writers in old Gujarātī Mss. wrote च्य and ज्य where the pure palatal was to be indicated. (In modern Marāṭhī some write च्य, e. g. विच्यार for this purpose). For further remarks see pp. 345-346 of my *Gujarātī Language and Literature*, Vol. I. I may note here that Mārkaṇḍeya's symbols रच, रज etc. to design-

ate the pure sound, which I shall speak about later on, were inspired by this च element. My argument amounts to this: the Greeks represented the च in *Candragupta* by an S; the Prakrit sound of च is nearer S than the pure palatal is; therefore the च in the name must have been sounded as dento-palatal. Principal Dhruva seemed to put this argument upside down. He took it thus: Because the च in *Candragupta* was pronounced as ts, the Greeks turned it into an S; thus giving my argument the appearance of an *a priori* line of reasoning. But even at that this method of *a priori* reasoning is permissible in cases of this kind, especially because the S effect is अनन्यथासिद्ध. For, the pure palatal sound of च was, as a matter of fact, heard by the Greeks as pure palatal in the case of *Caṣṭana* which they represented as *Tiastanes*. Similarly the pure palatal ज was represented by them as *dia* in the case of जमुना (यमुना) written by them *Diamouna*. I may give a fuller list:

	Sanskrit and Prakrit	Greek
च	चन्द्रयुत	Sandrókuptos ¹
	पञ्चाल	Pássoloi or Pazalai
	चन्दन	Tzándanon
	चटन	Tiastanes
ज	उज्जयिनी	O'zène
	यमुना }	Diamouna
	जमुना }	

Thus we find the pure palatals च and ज represented by *ti* and *di* respectively, and the dento-palatals by S, SS, Z or tz (for च) and Z (for ज). If, then, the Greeks had two distinct symbols one for the pure palatal and another set for the dento-palatal, it would be fallacious to argue that the Greeks heard the pure palatal of *Candragupta* wrong and hence they symbolized it by

1 The generally known name is *Sandrokottos*. But *Kuptos* or *Kyptos* is also seen. Weber has it. Max Muller gives the alternatives *Sandrakottos* and *Sandracyptos* (History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 141, Pāṇini Office edition). The Encyclopædia of names in the Century Dictionary gives under "*Candragupta* the two variants, *Sondrokottos* and *Sandrokyptos*. A friend suggests that the Greeks took *kuptos* (*kyptos*) from the Sanskrit *gupta* and *kottos* from its Prakrit evolute-*gutta*. The suggestion is really attractive. (p. 357, n. 117, Gujarātī Language and Literature I.).

an S. It could not be that by an acoustic miracle the pure च in its journey from the Indian mouth to the Greek ear transformed itself into the dento-palatal: for obviously they were able to realize both the sounds; there was nothing like कर्णदोष, defective hearing. The fact was that the Greeks, like the Arabs (who have *sin* (सीन) for Chin (चीन), the name of China), did not possess the च sound or its symbol, and consequently they chose the nearest approach to the two sounds by the symbols S, *tia*, and *dia*, just as in ancient India the Z¹ sound of *Zamotika* was represented by झ (or झ according to some scholars). The Arabs had *sin* or rather *Tsin*, the same that we see in the name *Tsang* for Cang (चंग).

Principal Dhruva's theory would seem to imply that the Prakrit sound of च did not exist as early as the time of Candragupta. I do not see how this view can be upheld in the face of the considerations stated in the foregoing discussion. Nor can we forget the fact that the name Chang was represented as Tsang and thus the sound was certainly as old as the time of that traveller. I have in my *Gujarātī Language and Literature* Vol. I., p. 348, n. 114 suggested a conjectural connection between Skr. छन्दस् and the word Zend (Zand), as also the Avasta *Yūs* and Skr. याच्, thereby taking the Prakrit sound as far back as pre-Vedic times, Mārkaṇḍeya in his *Prākṛta-Sarvaśva* notes the Prakrit sound as prevalent in the standard Prakrit, and the Sanskrit sound as peculiar to Māgadhi language and certain other dialects.² It may also be noted that the Sanskrit sound was indicated by Mārkaṇḍeya by the diacritical mark, य prefixed to the च, छ, ज, झ.

Sir George Grierson in a private letter to me, dated 27 October 1924 tells me: " Rāmaśarman (Tarkavāgīśa) who preceded Mārkaṇḍeya, also gives the rule about Māgadhi c, j, being preceded

1 In fact the Z sound is foreign to modern Indian vernaculars also. Those who transliterate the name of Sir J. Bose (Bengali বসু, बसु-बोसु, -बोस) into बोझ (झ = Z) ignore this fact.

2 In my *Gujarātī Language and Literature* Vol. I p. 358 I have expressed a doubt: viz. Candragupta was from Magadha and if Māgadhi had the Sanskrit sound, how was it that the Greeks converted it to S as if it was the dento-palatal? I may suggest an answer here. It is just possible that the Greeks heard the name from the mouths of people who uttered the dento-palatal sound.

by य but only अयुक्तेषु. Rāmaśarman says that his grammar is founded on that of Laṅkeśvara, but unfortunately, inspite of all my efforts, I have failed to trace Laṅkeśvara's grammar, although it is described in Rajendra Lal's Notices (IX, Nos. 3157, 3158)."

[In a subsequent letter Sir George tells me that there is only one Ms. of Rāmaśarman's grammar¹ and that is in the India Office Library, but it is very corrupt].

Not only was the Prakrit sound as old as Candragupta's time and far back upto pre-Vedic times, but its prevalence extended to countries other than India proper, or rather its image was reflected in the S representation in other countries : Witness सकवाल (in Ceylon) for चक्रवाल (Skr.), सन्दा (Burmese) for चन्द्र (Ap. of चन्द्र Skr.), संदल (Persian) for चन्दन. I need not note here, beyond making a mere mention, the view that the dento-palatal sound of च etc. was due to Mongol and Dravidian influences ; Mongol influence in the case of Gujarātī and certain other vernaculars in the North and West, and Dravidian in the case of Marāṭhī. For a fuller discussion see my *Gujarātī Language and Literature* Vol. I pp. 349-350. In his recently published article on Kanarese influence on Old Marāṭhī, Mr. R. V. Jahagirdar refers to Dr. Trump's view that the Prakrit sound of च and ज in Marāṭhī came from Dravidian influence, on the strength of a statement in Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages* (See *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. XI, Part IV, p. 374).

I hope I have given good grounds for holding that the Greeks actually heard the dento-palatal in Candragupta's name when they symbolized it with an S in Sandra-kottos, and that it was not the result of an illusion. If in doing so, I have travelled into incidental questions, my excuse is a desire to throw side-lights which may be useful.

¹ I must note that Sir George Grierson wrote an exhaustive article on the *Prakrit Palatals* in the JRAS., 1913 A. D., pp. 391 ff which I had not seen when I wrote my Lectures. I have summarized it in my Lectures.

REPLY TO SANDROKOTTOS*

BY

A. B. DHRUVA, M. A., LL. B.

I think I twice referred to the च् of चन्द्रयुत्त in the course of my lectures. On the first occasion it was in connection with the two kinds of palatals, the old and the new, that is I. E. and Sanskrit, and it had nothing to do with the problem of the two pronunciations of च् which is mentioned in Mr. Divatia's article. What I said on this occasion was not that in चन्द्रयुत्त, च् was sounded as "the Sanskrit pure palatal" but that च् was purely a Sanskrit palatal, meaning thereby that it was a new (Sanskrit) palatal and not an old (I. E.) palatal. I next referred to the two classes of the new (Sanskrit) palatals, one which was connected with the velar (guttural) as in शुच् and शोक, युच् and युग or योग and the other which was not so connected e. g. च् of चन्द्रयुत्त, चन्दन etc. If Mr. Divatia is referring to this context, he is evidently mistaking the expression which I may have used, viz, "a purely Sanskrit palatal" for "the Sanskrit pure palatal."

My second reference to the च् of चन्द्रयुत्त was made, I think, in the course of certain remarks regarding the causes of sound-change. Here, speaking about the way in which sounds of one tongue are confused with those of another, I referred to the change of च् in चन्द्रयुत्त to s in Sandrocottūs and gave it as one of the examples of the well-known truth that it is not the sound so much as the 'memory picture' of a sound that matters in philological change. In so doing I had not the least thought of denying the existence of the two pronunciations of च् in Indian languages. In fact, when at the end of the series of my lectures Mr. Divatia, in the course of his motion for a vote of thanks to the lecturer, expatiated upon the two pronunciations of च्, I was much surprized and wanted to explain how I had been misunderstood. I was just trying to do so as we were stepping out of the

* I am grateful to the Editor for giving me an opportunity of replying to the above article.

Hall, but he was then not in a mood—perhaps he was too tired—to hear me. He referred me to his own discussion of the question in his *Wilson Philological Lectures*. I had read the book—which, by the way, is a mine of philological facts and observations and had read also Grierson's article in the *JRAS.*, 1913, which together with Hoernle's "*Gaudian Grammar*" is the locus classicus of this problem for English readers, and I was well acquainted with the equations which Grierson has cited from Wackernagel and which are also found in a foot-note drawn from the same source by Macdonell on page 25 of his "*Vedic Grammar*." I wished I had been given the opportunity of clearing the misunderstanding before Mr. Divatia decided to write the above article.

A REJOINDER

BY

N. B. DIVATIA, B. A.

By the courtesy of the Editor I have been able to read Principal Dhruva's reply to my article on "Sandro Kottos." By way of rejoinder I shall state briefly, as regards Principal Dhruva's first paragraph, that if he reads my article again he will see that my remarks were not directed against the points dealt with in that paragraph,—for they do not bring in the Greek "Sandro Kottos". Thus there was no occasion for any mistake on my part.

Principal Dhruva's second paragraph contains the view on which I join issue with him in my article. My position taken therein is this: the Greeks had "Sandro Kottos" for our चन्द्रगुप्त; if the च in that name had been the pure palatal sound, they would have turned it into *tia* as they did in the case of चट्टन's name; but they symbolized it with an *s*; this *s* is the nearest approach to our dento-palatal च; therefore the first letter in चन्द्रगुप्त's name must have been pronounced as a dento-palatal¹; or, to put the argument in its true sequence, the च in चन्द्रगुप्त was pronounced as a dento-palatal; *s* was its nearest approach; therefore the Greeks showed it as "Sandro Kottos." Principal Dhruva speaks of "the way in which sounds of one tongue are confused with those of another" (mark the word "confused"); and in that connection, he tells us, he referred to "the change of च in चन्द्रगुप्त to *s* in "Sandro Kottos" as an example of "the well-known truth that it is not the sound so much as the "memory picture" of a sound that matters in philological change". I am afraid he is resorting to a distinction without a difference here; for the sound can hardly be differentiated from its 'memory-picture.'² But, no; I must thank Principal Dhruva for having

1 This inverted sequence is what Principal Dhruva seemed to have understood. The true sequence is put by me just after this.

2 The implications of this statement obviously are:—

(a) that the च in चन्द्रगुप्त was really the pure palatal, and (b) that the "memory-picture" presented to the Greeks was that of the dento-palatal.

come to my help when he puts in the very happy and terse expression "memory-picture"— what I said regarding his belief that the च in चन्द्रगुप्त was really the pure palatal, but that the Greeks heard it wrong as dento-palatal, and hence they symbolized it with an s. It was this belief of his that I regarded as faulty. If he only inquires into the basis of the "memory-picture" of the च in चन्द्रगुप्त, he will see, as I see, that it was the dento-palatal sound itself that presented the picture (identical with source-sound) to the Greeks, for the sound-picture cannot be one at the source and a different one at the other end, the receiving end. That has been, and still, is my contention. The real issue need not be evaded by starting a special theory about "memory-picture" as a phenomenon separate from the sound itself. I do not ignore possible cases of faulty hearing at the initial stage, but I maintain that this was not so in the case of चन्द्रगुप्त's name, specially in view of the fact that there was no faulty hearing in the case of चरुत's name. When Principal Dhruva assures us that he had not the least thought of denying the existence of the two pronunciations of च in Indian languages, he is attempting to refute a charge that was never levelled against him, (I presume that by the term "Indian languages" he means the modern vernaculars of India).

I do not think I am called upon to reply to the rest of Principal Dhruva's statements, as they do not affect the phonetic question at issue.¹

MISCELLANEA

I

A NOTE ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF SARVASIDDHĀNTA- SĀMGRAHA

BY

B. N. KRISHNAMURTI SARMA

Opinion had been sharply divided in the domain of scholars for some time whether the *Sarva-Siddhānta-Sāṃgraha* was the work of Śrī Śaṅkara. One set of scholars attributed it to a later writer of that name who, they held, had evidently passed it off in the name of his illustrious predecessor. It was also possible to believe that tradition fell into a confusion with regard to the two Śaṅkaras. The latter was at any rate the more probable if also a charitable view. Such opinions need not always come upon the orthodox section as a consternation. Since of late years the existence of a vast number of — what Mr. Mahes Chandra Ghose would call—‘Śaṅkara—apocrypha’ has been ably demonstrated beyond a shadow of doubt. I refer to the researches of Pandit Vidusekhara Bhattacharya and similar attempts in the field.

It was given to the late Rao Bahadur M. Rangacharya (Professor of Sanskrit at the Presidency College, Madras) to bring forward for the first time, an edition of the *Sarvasiddhānta Sāṃgraha* (Madras 1909.). In an introduction to the same book he stoutly defended the authorship of Śaṅkara.

After having carefully read through the introduction and examining verses 21-22 of the उपोद्घातप्रकरण in the original, I am of opinion that the theory of Śaṅkara’s authorship would have to fall through for want of conclusive evidence.

Among other things, the editor himself is painfully conscious of the fact (which however he tries to gloss over) that had it been the work of the great founder of Advaitism it would most certainly have been quoted by Mādhava in his *Sarvadarśana Sāṃgraha*. That Mādhava is entirely unaware of any such work, takes away half the value of Rao Bahadur Rangacharya’s theory.

And in all the later Advaitic works there is not a single reference to or quotation from this supposed work of Śaṅkara ! And in sooth it passeth anybody's comprehension why these later writers should so scrupulously have held their peace about this work of the great Śaṅkara - if such it was and gone in for the Sarvadarśana Saṁgraha for references and quotations !

Let me however take up the two verses from the introduction. There is nothing in them to support Rao Bahadur Rangacharya's contention, which seems to mean something very different from what has been made out of them. They run :—

भवत्पुनरमीमांसा त्वष्टाध्यायी द्विधा च सा ।
 देवताज्ञानकाण्डाभ्यां व्याससूत्रं द्वयोः समम् ॥ २० ॥
 पूर्वाध्यायचतुष्केण मन्त्रवाच्यात्रदेवता ।
 संकर्षणोदिता तद्धि देवताकाण्डमुच्यते ॥ २१ ॥
 भाष्यं चतुर्भिरध्यायैः भगवत्पादनिर्मितं ।
 चक्रे विवरणं तस्य तद्देवान्तं प्रचक्षते ॥ २२ ॥

(Verses 20-22).

The foregoing verses deal entirely with the Uttara Mīmāṃsā literature even as verses 17-19 deal with Pūrva Mīmāṃsā literature. The Uttara-Mīmāṃsā, we are told, comprises the Dēvata and Jñāna Kāṇḍas i. e. to say the Daivi Mīmāṃsā and Brahma-Mīmāṃsā both of which are attributed to Vyāsa. Verse 22 proceeds to speak of the commentaries on the Sūtras. So far so good. It is only in the identification of the commentaries that the trouble arises. Mr. Rangacharya says : that the reference to Bhagavatpāda is *not* to Śaṅkara but to his preceptor Govinda-Bhagavatpāda. A Sanskrit commentary (on the Sarva Siddhānta Saṁgraha) is cited in support on the strength of which it is claimed that "Govinda, the *guru* of Śaṅkarācārya, must have written one commentary on the Devatā Kāṇḍa, and another on the Jñāna-Kāṇḍa." Further on the editor hopefully remarks : "There is nothing improbable in this for tradition ascribes very great learning to this Bhagavatpāda Govinda" (Ibid viii). The Sanskrit commentator's descent from Madhusūdana Sarasvatī (Ibid ix) is made to reinforce the value and validity of his remarks (ix).

But the plain text refers to only *one commentary*. There is no reason why it should not speak of two commentaries by the same Bhagavatpāda if such works really existed ! I am afraid both the commentator and Mr. Rangacharya have entirely missed the point in taking verse 22 as referring to *two separate commentaries* whereas the text really refers to only one Bhāṣya, on the Jñāna-Kāṇḍa. If we carefully observe the scheme of topics in the preceding verses we can see that verse 21 gives a full account of the Devatā Kāṇḍa, its subject matter and exponent. The next verse takes up the Jñāna Kāṇḍa and says that the Bhagavatpāda wrote a commentary in explanation of the four adhyāyas of the Brahma Mimāṃsā. Thus it will be clearly seen that neither verse 21st nor verse 22 make any mention of any commentary on the Devatā Kāṇḍa by the Bhagavatpāda. I am afraid there has arisen a great confusion of the *anvaya* of the two passages. Startling as it might seem to make such an assertion and accusation, I beg respectfully to submit that the question is really very serious and demands calm and impartial scrutiny. It cannot be otherwise. For Mr. Rangacharya himself seems to have felt the gravity of the situation¹ when he remarked that " these Ślokas are not very clear and cannot be quite easily interpreted. " (Preface vii). The remark is highly significant. And I once more submit that the Ślokas must be allowed to speak for themselves irrespective of what the commentator, however eminent, might have said. In plain prose therefore verse 22 would simply read : चतुर्भिरध्यायैः भगवत्पादनिर्मितं भाष्यं तस्य² विवरणं चक्रे । तद् वेदान्तं प्रचक्षते ॥ Such a reading would entirely shut off all reference to any commentary on the Devatā Kāṇḍa and would strictly confine itself to the Jñāna-Kāṇḍa. It would therefore mean that a Bhāṣya consisting of four chapters written by a Bhagavatpāda explains the ज्ञानकाण्ड and that it is called the Vedānta. The word तस्य in the original would thus logically denote ज्ञानकाण्ड. Even the Sanskrit commentator has been obliged to take it so.

The phrase तद्वेदान्तं प्रचक्षते betrays that the author is a Post-Śaṅkarite Advaitin. With Śaṅkara, however, the term Vedānta

1 The fact is that the Ślokas are clumsily worded and this itself proves that they are not the production of Śrī Śaṅkara !

2 पूर्वोक्तस्य ब्रह्ममीमांसाशास्त्रस्येत्यर्थः

usually means the Upaniṣads and not any other work, not even the Vedānta Sūtras – much less therefore any Bhāṣya thereon! It is possible, however, for a Post-Śaṅkarite Advaitin to speak of Śaṅkara's commentaries as *the Vedānta* even as it was a fashion for some time among the nobles of orientalisists to identify the Vedānta with Advaita-vāda and ignore all other schools by the mere fiat of their pen!

I may also point out that according to Mr. Rangaacharya's interpretation of the first half of verse 22 the words भगवत्पादनिमित्तं would be abrupt and unmeaning and suffer for want of an antecedent relative pronoun. And the second half चक्रे विवरणं would be singularly clumsy. We can safely plead that Śaṅkara could not have been guilty of such bad verses. तत् वेदान्तं प्रचक्षते would be entirely awkward. I have therefore to come to the conclusion that the learned editor of the Sarva Siddhānta Saṁgraha has erred a little too piously with the commentator in splitting up verse 22 as referring to two commentaries whereas the proper *anvaya* admits of only one.

Seeing that no independent commentaries on the Devatā Kāṇḍa and the Brahma-Sūtras by Govinda Bhagavatpāda have been brought to light and seeing also that there is no extraneous evidence in support of them we cannot be far from the truth if we characterise the assumption as gratuitous. Barring Govinda-Bhagavatpāda of eminent fame there can be no two opinions that the भगवत्पाद respectfully referred to as the author of a Bhāṣya on the ज्ञानकाण्ड is none other than Sri Śaṅkara.

And the author of the Sarva Siddhānta Saṁgraha, therefore, must undoubtedly be a Post-Śaṅkarite Advaitin.

II PRATIMĀ AND KUNDAMĀLĀ

BY

D. R. MANKAD, M. A.

Against the suggestion made by me¹ that the words 'प्रतिमागतः महा-
राजः' may indicate, on the part of the author of Kundamālā, a
knowledge of the प्रतिमानाटक that we possess, Mr. P. V. Kane says,²
" There is nothing to prevent the author of the Kundamālā from
adding a detail from his own experience, while inditing the
message of Sitā. " Of course, I do not mean that the author of
K. had no right to effect any change in his original ; but for
doing so he must have some purpose ; and what purpose,
according to Mr. Kane, would be served by adding this little
detail passes imagination. On the other hand, it is quite natural
to suppose that the author had the knowledge of the contents of the
Pratimānāṭaka and as the incidents were still fresh while he was
writing his drama, he made this quite casual change. The thing
looks quite psychological.

Mr. T. R. Chintamani,³ too points to a reference from रघु० and
says that as दशरथ is regarded there as अलेख्यशेष, we shall have
to accept the existence of an अलेख्यनाटक. Of course, Kālidāsa's
अलेख्यशेष is an ' adding of a detail, ' but it is " from his own ex-
perience. " All I want to say is that the idea of अलेख्य was so
common in Sanskrit literature that it was, quite freely, resorted
to by the poets. Reference to an idea of प्रतिमा was quite rare, nay
very rare and simply for that reason, too, one would be justified
in making a distinction between अलेख्यशेष and प्रतिमागत. The
first is poetic and common, the second rare and out of context.
अलेख्यशेष seems to fit in, even when we look to the context, as it
serves the purpose of heightening the poetical effect by pointing
out the contrast that दशरथ was no more when Rāma returned
after such a long absence. प्रतिमागत serves no such purpose.

1 Annals Vol. IX. pp. 333-34.

2 Annals Vol. X. p. 155.

3 Annals Vol. X, p. 157.

Again in the case of प्रतिमागत, we do not take for granted the existence of a प्रतिमानाटक. There actually exists a drama of that name, and the coincidence³ is too, striking. Nobody is asked to suppose the existence of a प्रतिमानाटक. Here exists a प्रतिमानाटक. Here is a reference, which to my mind, can only be explained satisfactorily, if it is read in connection with the incidents depicted in the प्रतिमानाटक--incidents which, otherwise are not seen anywhere else in Sanskrit Literature. I think, therefore, that there is no escape from the conclusion arrived at by me.

REVIEWS

SOME ASPECTS OF LITERARY CRITICISM IN SANSKRIT OR THE THEORIES OF RASA AND DHVANI BY A. SANKARAN, M. A., Ph. D.

[Thesis approved for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Madras, Published by the University of Madras 1929].

This sketch of the history of the theories of Rasa and Dhvani opens with a critical inquiry, started, in accordance with the general practice of Indologists, from the earliest literary monument of Indian culture from the R̥gveda itself. So the first chapter is inserted for the sake of formality and yields practically very dubious results. Very often, such inquiries are a wild goose chase lost in the desert of mere verbiage. The book under review is no exception.

Vālmiki is rightly regarded as the father of classical poetry, and in the second chapter, the author, following Ānandavardhana, seeks to find the germs of the Rasa theory in the well-known legend regarding the genesis of the Rāmāyaṇa. The sight of the heron shot down with an arrow by the hunter evoked profound pity in the sage which found expression in metrical speech—this is what Wordsworth calls spontaneous overflow of powerful feeling. However, it will be readily conceded that Vālmiki, the critic, was thoroughly innocent of the theory of aesthetic pleasure (Rasa) nor does Ānandavardhana attribute to him anything beyond the fact that the poet regarded emotion as a necessary element, as the fount and spring of all poetic expression.

The next important writer and practically the first theoriser of dramatic technique is Bharata, who enunciates the doctrine of Rasa which provides the starting point and forms the subject of later elaborations of the theory. Incidentally the question of Hellenic influence on Sanskrit poetics is raised, and the author rightly observes that "the Indian genius knew to strike an independent path in the many branches of her abundant culture."

Yet the effect of this assertion is lost when the author tempers what he perhaps regards as the extremism of this observation by the qualifying statement that "most probably Sanskrit poetics has an indigenous origin."

With regard to the controversy regarding the relative position of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, the author declares himself in favour of the priority of Bhāmaha to Daṇḍin. It is probable, as the author holds, that the definitions of perception and inference criticised by Bhāmaha may have been taken by him directly from old Buddhist writers like Dignāga and Vasubandhu and not necessarily from Udyotakāra who has severely attacked them, but there is no compelling force in the arguments advanced by the writer in favour of the priority of Bhāmaha; as a matter of fact—as that cautious critic Prof. P. V. Kane has shown—the question is even now very difficult to settle, and Prof. Kane tentatively takes the position that Daṇḍin is prior to Bhāmaha.

From Bhāmaha to Ānandavardhana there are numerous writers on poetics, and they have taken different attitudes towards the theory of Rasa. The late Prof. Sovani has, in his article on the Pre-Dhvani schools of Alamkāra, sketched the development of these schools and their relationship with one another, until the great Ānandavardhana propounded the doctrine of Dhvani and attempted to unify the rival theories by giving them a subordinate position in relation to Dhvani. The great poets of the period, as shown by the author, seem to have favoured the Rasa theory and this school had secured for itself such a strong position in the literary circles, that although theoretically Rasadhvani and Alamkāra-Dhvani or Vastudhvani stand on a par, yet Ānandavardhana admits the superiority of Rasa to the other two kinds of Dhvani which really are contributory to its development.

With regard to the question of the authorship of the Dhvanikārikās, it is held by some that they were written by one Sahṛdaya, and that Ānandavardhana wrote his Vṛtti on the Dhvanikārikās. In addition to the arguments advanced in favour of this view by Prof. Kane, it may be mentioned that the threefold division of Dhvani into Rasa, Vastu, and Alamkāra, which Ānandavardhana repeatedly emphasises, is not given in any

Kārikās ; that the Parikarāślokas or the supplementary verses do not belong to Ānandavardhana as otherwise he would have been very systematic in giving them, nor do they belong to the Dhvanikāra - so that it seems possible that before Ānanda, there were current expository treatises dealing with the doctrine of the Dhvanikāra and thus some time must have elapsed between the Dhvanikāra and Ānanda.

The writer is not, therefore, quite just to critics like the late Prof. Sovani or to Prof. Kane when he remarks that the *only* evidence which apparently favours the opposite view - viz. the distinction occasionally made by Abhinava between Kārikākāra and Vṛttikāra loses its force before what he regards the invulnerable arguments marshalled by him in support of his view of the identity of the Kārikākāra and Vṛttikāra. Prof. Kane, in particular, has shown weightier reasons for making a distinction between the writers of the two, and had the author consulted his views, he would not have had the temerity of dogmatising in the manner he has done.

It was the brilliant advocacy of the Dhvani school by the Kāśmirian critic and philosopher, the great Abhinavagupta, which led practically to disarm all opposition to the theory of Dhvani. Abhinava's elaborate exposition of the famous aphorism of Bharata विभावतुभावव्यभिचारिसंयोगात् रसनिष्पत्तिः - is given *in extenso* by the writer, together with a review of the opinions held by his predecessors, Śrīśāṅkuka, Lollāṭa, Bhaṭṭanāyaka etc., analysing the source of aesthetic pleasure, and this part of the work has been very creditably performed. The attacks of Kuntaka and Mahimabhaṭṭa on the position taken up by the Dhvanikāra and Abhinava found little favour with the literary critics and the new doctrines of Vakrokti and Kāvya-numiti which they sought to establish died of sheer inanition.

Mammatā was something of an eclectic, and he it was who brought together all the different theories, defined their inter-relations and assigned each its proper place among the sources of literary appeal. With his Kāvya-prakāśa - as the writer well remarks - the distinctly creative phase in the history of literary criticism comes to an end, and later works on poetics like the

Ekāvali, Sāhityadarpaṇa etc. are mere repetitions of the subject modelled on the Kāvya-prakāśa and treat of the subject in the same comprehensive manner. Among these later writers, Jagan-nātha is the only one who shows occasional independence, and also makes some distinct contributions to poetics.

On the whole, the writer has well succeeded in tracing the theories of Rasa and Dhvani and their developments, and supplied much original and useful information on the subject. It is, however, to be wished that a comparative estimate of the modern theories of poetic values and those supplied by ancient Sanskrit writers was given so that it would have made evident the adequacy of the Dhvani theory to explain satisfactorily the sources of poetic pleasure. However, this was perhaps not within the scope of the work undertaken by the writer; and we close this long review in the hope that such an attempt would be made by the author, who is evidently qualified to undertake such an inquiry or by some other critic interested in the subject of poetics.

C. R. DEVADHAR

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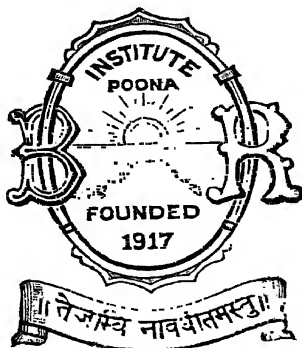
Volume XII

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Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona

Vol XII]

January 1931

[Part II

INDIAN STUDIES

No. 2

ARYAN IMMIGRATION INTO EASTERN INDIA

BY

D. R. BHANDARKAR

Our knowledge of the geography of India commences with the immigration and colonisation of the country by the Aryans. It is well-known that they entered by the NW., and advanced both eastwards and southwards till they occupied the whole of India. This progress of their movement is indicated in the various strata of the Vedic literature, which mentions the names of the several provinces through which they passed and the several tribes and peoples with whom they came into contact. Here we shall briefly trace their migration from the NW. to the extreme east of India.

If we start with the Rgveda, we find that in the east the Aryans had not only conquered the plains of Sirhind and Thānesar but advanced as far as the Ganges and the Jumna. Whether they had reached the Sarayū is doubtful. Nevertheless, they seem to show knowledge of Eastern India as far as the country of the Kikāṣas who are mentioned in the third Maṇḍala and who were a non-Aryan people settled in Magadha or South Bihār. Magadha is, however, not mentioned in the Rgveda. Its name for the first time occurs in the Atharvaveda (V. 22. 14) along with Aṅga where a wish is expressed that Fever (*takman*) may leave the Aryan land and infest the countries of such border tribes as the Aṅgas and the Magadhas. It will be seen that the first of these, that is, the Aṅgas also are looked upon as an alien tribe; but before 900 B. C., that is, before the composition of the Brāh-

manas came to an end, they were brought into the pale of Aryan civilisation. The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa distinctly tells us that when the Aryans pushed forward to the east of the Sarasvatī, they were led by Māthava the Videgha, and his priest.¹ They went at first as far east as the Sadānīrā which, we are told, flows from the northern (Himālaya) mountain and formed the boundary between Kosala and Videgha and the waters of which are never exhausted. This last item of information shows that it must correspond to the Great Gaṇḍak of the present day. For some time they did not venture to cross the river. They did, however, cross it, and, at the time when the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa was put together, were settled to the east of it apparently in the province of Videha no doubt called after the tribe or clan to which the king Māthava belonged. Videha represents the western part of North Bihār, the eastern part of which being represented by Aṅga. The Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 22) includes Aṅga Virocana in the list of kings who performed horse sacrifices. His priest was Udamaya, son of Atri. This shows that the Aṅga country also was Aryanised in the time of the Brāhmaṇas. Such was not however the case with Magadha, the second of the alien tribes mentioned in Atharvaveda. That province does not seem to have been Aryanised uptill a short time before the rise of Buddhism, as we shall see further on. It must not be supposed that the other parts of Eastern India were unknown to the Aryans, because they did not fall under the Aryandom. Thus the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa speaks of the sage Viśvāmītra as having adopted Śunaḥśepa as his son and named him Devarāta, much to the chagrin of the elder fifty of his hundred sons, who in consequence were cursed by their father "to live on the borders" of Aryan country. The descendants of these sons of Viśvāmītra, the Brāhmaṇa further tells us, formed the greater bulk of the Dasyus and were variously known as Andhras, Puṇḍras, Śabarās, Pulindas and Mūtibas.² Of these the Andhras, Puṇḍras, and Śabarās are known from the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa, and Purāṇas to have been the tribes of Southern India, the first being apparently settled in Kalinga and the last two immediately to the south of the Vindhya. The Puṇḍras were situated in the north part of Bengal and no doubt gave their name to their capital town Puṇḍravardhana after which the

1. SBE., Vol. XII. Intro. p. xli ff. ; p. 104 ff.

2. Probably identical with Madubā mentioned in the *Indika* of Megasthenes (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI. p. 338, last note).!

third *śākhā* of Godāsa-Gaṇa of the Jaina Sthaviras was called Pomḍavaddhaṇiṃyā, as the Kalpasūtra¹ informs us. The Puṇḍras can still be recognised in the Puro, an aboriginal caste in Bengal. The tradition preserved in the Aitareya-Brahmaṇa clearly shows that the Aryans had not only come in contact with these non-Aryan peoples, but had actually become mixed with them. Slightly later than the Aitareya-Brahmaṇa is the Aitareya-Āraṇyaka (II. 1. 1. 5) which makes mention of the Vaṅgas, Vagadhas and Cerapādas as "the three races that transgressed (the Vedic faith)." The Vaṅgas are doubtless the people of East Bengal. Vagadha seems to be a mistake for, or perhaps another mode of pronouncing, Magadha. The Cerapādas seem to be still preserved in the aboriginal Cheros or Cherūs of Bihār and Central Provinces, pertaining to the Kol stock. These three tribes have been called *vayāmsi* or birds in the Āraṇyaka, and this has led astray Sāyana and through him the European scholars. For it must be remembered that totemism was not and is not unknown to India, and that these tribes may have well-known bird totems, if not also actually named after them.

It will be seen that uptill the end of the Brāhmaṇa period that is, about 900 B. C., there were four peoples of Eastern India, namely, the Magadhas, Puṇḍras, Vaṅgas and Cerapādas who did not come under the Aryan pale. As has been previously stated, Magadha was Aryanised only shortly before the time of the Buddha. In no less than four places the Aṅguttara-Nikāya mentions what looks like a stereotyped list of the *Soḷasa-mahājanapadā*, or the Sixteen Great Countries, into which that portion of India which was occupied by the Aryans was divided.² Of these three alone were comprised in Eastern India, namely, the Vajji, Aṅgā and Magadhā. The Vajjis were settled round about Vesālī, their capital, which has been identified with Basarh in the Muzaffarpur District of Bihār. We have already seen that Aṅga formed the east part of North Bihār. Magadha is practically co-extensive with South Bihār, with Rājagṛha as its capital. It thus seems that shortly about the sixth century B. C. Magadha came to be included in the Aryandom. It was about this time that some parts of Bengal also began to be Aryanised. It is worthy of note that while the Pāli Buddhist canon knows Aṅga and

1. P. 79; Sec. XXII, p. 288.

2. Carmichael Lectures for 1918, p. 48.

Magadha and Assaka (Aśmaka), and Kalinga, it scarcely knows Vaṅga, Puṇḍra and Suhma, which were comprised in Ancient Bengal. It is true that in three tales narrated in the Saṃyutta-Nikāya¹ Buddha is represented to have preached at a town (*nigama*) called Setaka and situated in the Sumbha country. Here it is quite possible to equate Sumbha with Suhma (West Bengal). Similarly, it is true that both the Mahāvagga² and Aṅguttara³ speak of a Buddhist teacher Upasena as Vaṅganta-putta. The latter passage speaks of another Buddhist teacher called Vaṅgīśa. It is difficult to determine whether we have here reference to a well-known division of Bengal, namely, Vaṅga, because the *Manoratha-pūraṇī* says that Vaṅgīśa was born in a Brahman family of Śrāvastī and⁴ not in any part of Vaṅga. As regards Vaṅganta-putta we are told that he was so named after his father who was living somewhere near Rājagṛha, and not in Vaṅga. Even supposing that they were somehow connected with Vaṅga or East Bengal, these references are few and far between, and it cannot be denied that Suhma and Vaṅga are nothing as compared to Aṅga, Magadha and Kosala so far as the proselytising activity of the Buddhists was concerned. The case was, however, different in regard to the missionary sphere of the Jainas. The *Āyāraṅga-sutta*⁴ speaks of the most celebrated Jaina teacher Vardhamāna as having undertaken a preaching tour in the Rāḍha country consisting of Vajjabhūmi and Suhmabhūmi and gives a heart-rending description of the privations and miseries he encountered in that region. The inhabitants of the country were so bad that they heaped abuse upon Vardhamāna and the Jaina monks, incited dogs to bite them, and themselves hit them with sticks, clods, potsherds and what not. But Mahāvīra, we are told, bore all hardships undisturbed and triumphed over his enemies. When such was the tranquility of mind and the religious zeal exhibited by Mahāvīra, it was no wonder if Jainism took a firm root even in Bengal. The Kalpasūtra, as we have already seen, mentions a *śākhā* of the Godāsa-Gaṇa of Jaina monks as Pomḍavaddhaṇiyā, called after Puṇḍravardhana in North Bengal. This is really the third *śākhā* of that Gaṇa, the first and the second being named after Koṭivarṣa and Tāmralipti respectively. Of these Koṭivarṣa is the same

1. Pt. V. pp. 89 and 168-170.

2. Vol. I. p. 30.

3. Vol. I. p. 24.

4. Pp. 44 ff.; See., Vol. XXII. pp. 84-5.

as Bāugarh in the Dinājpur District, Bengal, as we shall see subsequently, and Tāmralipti the same as Tanuluk in the Midnapur District of the same Presidency. There is nothing surprising in this, because the Divyāvadāna¹ speaks of Aśoka having put to death a number of Nirgrantha (Jaina) ascetics at Puṇḍravardhana for having shown disrespect to an image of Buddha. Even as late as the middle of the seventh century A. D., Yuan Chwang testifies to the Nirgrantha Jainas being numerous at this place.² It will be seen that like Magadha and Kosala in the case of the Buddhists, Puṇḍra and Sumha, that is, North and West Bengal, were the centres of religious activity in the case of the Jainas. The above Jaina traditions are recorded in the Āyāraṅga and Kalpa-sutta which are no doubt works dating from the third century B. C. but refer to a more ancient original of the 6th century B. C. It, therefore, seems that in this latter century when Buddha and Mahāvīra lived and preached, whereas Aṅga and Magadha were prosyletised to Buddhism, Puṇḍra and Suhma were brought under the influence of Jainism. The four provinces were thus Aryanised, but, be it remembered, they were only śramanised and were all except Videgha and Aṅga outside the pale of the Vedic faith.

That the extreme provinces of Eastern India were Aryanised but not Brahmanised is proved also by a statement in the Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra. It first specifies the limits of Āryāvarta, then mentions the integral frontier provinces which contained *saṃkīrṇa-yonis* or mixed castes, and finally winds up by naming the bordering districts outside the Āryāvarta which are tabooed for the travels of the Vedic Āryans. As regards the Āryāvarta we are told that it was bounded on the east by the Kālaka-vana, on the south by the Pāriyātra range, on the west by Ādarśa and on the north by the Himālayas. There can be no doubt as regards the location of the Himālayas and the Pāriyātra. What the exact name of the eastern boundary was is somewhat doubtful. But scholars so far have taken it as *Kālaka-vana* in the sense of the Black Forest. It no doubt seems tempting³ to identify this Kālaka-vana with the Kālaka-ārama near Sāketa where according to the Aṅguttara-Nikāya⁴ the Buddha was

1. P. 427.

2. Watter's *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II. p. 184; *Cul. Rev.*, June, 1923, p. 452.

3. *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. IV. p. 93 ff.

4. Pt. II. p. 24.

once staying. But this Kālak-ārāma was a mere grove near Sāketa or Ayodhyā and could scarcely have been intended to define the boundary of such a big country as Āryāvarta. It is perhaps more reasonable to adopt the reading Kālakā-vana, that is, the Forest of Kālakā. The Purāṇas know of only one Kālakā, namely, the daughter of the Asura Vaiśvānara who was married to Marici (Kaśyapa). She and her sister Puloma, who was also married to Marici, 'bore him sixty thousand Dānavas, called Paulomas and Kālakeyas, who were powerful, ferocious and cruel.' Though Bühler may not be right in adopting the reading Kālaka-vana and rendering it by 'the Black Forest,' he is certainly right in saying that it must be sought for somewhere in Bihār. For when the Vedic Aryans had once crossed the great Gaṇḍakī and occupied North Bihār, it is useless to push the eastern boundary of Āryāvarta back westwards as far as Ayodhyā. Kālakā-vana therefore seems to have been situated somewhere in the eastern part of Bihār and like Daṇḍak-āranya must have denoted some province. And it will not be unreasonable if we identify it with Jhāḍakhaṇḍa, a tract "which lay to the south of Gayā, to the east of Shāhābād, to the south of Bhāgalpur, and to the west of Bānkurā and Midnāpur². We shall see presently that the ancient name of Bihār was Prācyā, which was the country of Asuras. It is thus natural that a wild region or *vana* which is associated with Kālakā, herself as Asura princess and mother of several Asura warriors, should be located somewhere in Bihār. And it is also natural that Jhāḍakhaṇḍa which forms the south-east part of Bihār and abounds with hills and forests should for a long time have proved an almost insurmountable barrier to the further advance of the Aryans in Eastern India and remained for long the eastern boundary of Āryāvarta. The western boundary specified for this land is Ādarśa. Bühler has pointed out that the correct reading here must be Ādarśa, which, later on, when its identity was forgotten was changed into *adarśana* to bring it on a par with the *Vinaśana* of Manu-smṛti (II. 21), that is, 'the disappearance of the Sarasvatī.' ³ Bühler, however, is wrong in thinking that Ādarśa was the name of a mountain range, because there is no authority for this statement. Varāhamihira speaks of Ādarśa as a country and places it in the Northern Division.⁴ And it is

1. *Viṣṇu-P* (trans. by Wilson), Vol. II. pp. 71-2.

2. B. C. Mazumdar's *The History of the Bengali Language*, p. 32.

3. SBE., Vol. XIV. p. 2, n. 8.

4. *Ind. Ant.*, 1893, p. 172.

the people of this country no doubt who are represented by the Adraistai of Arrian and the Adrēstai of Diodorus.¹ They appear to be settled somewhere between the Rāvi and the Beas of the Panjāb as is quite clear from the statement of these classical authors. It will be thus seen that in the time of Baudhāyana Āryāvarta had spread as far eastward as Jhādakhaṇḍa and as westward as the Beas.

So far about the boundaries of Āryāvarta. But there were certain frontier districts of this country which according to Baudhāyana were not fully Brahmanised, at any rate, so far as the social order was concerned. They were therefore supposed to contain *saṃkīrṇa-yoni*, mixed castes. Such were the people of Surāṣṭra, Sindhu and Sauvīra on the west, Avanti and Dakṣiṇāpatha² on the south, and Aṅga and Magadha on the east. But there were certain other districts, evidently on the outer fringe of Āryāvarta, which were placed under a ban and which no Vedic Aryan could visit without performing some purifying rite or another. "He, who has visited" continues the same Dharma-sūtra "the (countries of the) Āraṭṭas, Kāraskaras, Puṇḍras, Sauvīras, Vāṅgas, Kālīṅgas (or) Pranūnas, shall offer a Punastoma or Sarvapṛṣṭhi". These were doubtless on the other side of Āryāvarta, as the peoples of the latter region are forbidden to visit the former which were thus beyond the pale of Vedic civilization.

Let us now see what conclusions we can draw from a critical consideration of the above data. The date of the Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra is generally taken to be fourth century B. C. It thus seems that as early as 400 B. C. Aṅga and Magadha were doubtless Aryanised but were not completely Brahmanised as the social order of the four *varṇas* was not fully imbibed. This must be the reason why they are styled *saṃkīrṇa-yonis*. But on the east of them were Puṇḍras, Vāṅgas and Kālīṅgas which had not adopted Brahmanism even in part and which the Āryans were therefore prohibited from visiting except by performing a purificatory rite. In this connection it is necessary to take one passage from Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* into consideration. Pāṇini VI. 1. 2. is supplemented by Kātyāyana with ten *vārtikas*. On the ninth of these

1. Me. Crindell's *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 116, n. 1

2. They most probably correspond to Avanti and Avanti-Dakṣiṇa patha of the Pāli Buddhist texts (*Car. Lect.* 1918, pp. 43, 45, 46 & 54).

Patañjali gives the following gloss: *Loka-Īśvara ājñāpayati: grāmūdgrāmaṃ manuṣyā ānīyantāṃ prāg Aṅgam grāmebhyaḥ Brāhmaṇā ānīyantāṃ iti*. Patañjali is here giving an illustration from ordinary life in support of a point connected with Grammar. The translation of the passage is as follows: "The Īśvara or the supreme ruler orders: 'let men be brought from village to village; let Brāhmaṇas be brought from villages, as far east as the Aṅga country'. If we had been told that the order of the Īśvara was simply to bring men from villages, it would not have deserved any notice at all. But when we are also told that the Īśvara has ordered to import Brahmans into eastern regions as far as Aṅga, the passage assumes some historical significance and must arrest our attention. Because it is quite clear that at the time when Patañjali wrote, there must have been very few Brāhmaṇs in Aṅga, because that part of India was not completely Brahmanised. The order of the Īśvara has no sense otherwise. And further as Patañjali was a contemporary of the Śuṅga king Puṣyamitra, it is this supreme ruler who seems to have issued the order. This is quite natural, because Puṣyamitra was a Brahman, and established a *Brāhmaṇa-rājya*, as has been pointed out to us by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.¹ The object of Puṣyamitra who ruled at Pāṭaliputra was evidently to propagate Brahmanism everywhere. And as Aṅga which corresponds to the modern province of Bhāgalpur was not completely Brahmanised, it was natural that this royal propagandist, who was a Brahman, should turn his attention to it in order that Brahmanic culture and worship might spread there. Surely even in the Śuṅga period the Aṅga country was not completely Brahmanised.

The case, however, was much worse in regard to the easternmost districts of Puṇḍra and Vaṅga, when Baudhāyana wrote. We have seen that they too were Āryanised or rather Śramanised in the sense that Buddhism, especially Jainism, was established there. And we know that both Buddhism and Jainism represent an important aspect of Aryan civilization. But these outer provinces did not fall under any perceptible Vedic influence. We have seen above, on the authority of the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa, that certain sections of Viśvāmitra's family had settled down as far east as Puṇḍra and mixed themselves with the people there. Nevertheless, Vedic faith and ritual were conspicuous by their absence. The question therefore arises: when did the Vedic worship spread to the east of Aṅga? Or, in other words, when

1. JBORS., 1918, p. 257 ff.

did Bengal begin to be Brahmanised? In the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* there is a passage¹ which gives a description of *Bhāratavarṣa*. It extends, we are told, from the *Himālayas* to *Cape Comorine*. On the western extremity are the *Mlechchhas* and on the eastern the *Kirātas*. In between, we are further told, are settled down the *Brāhmaṇas*, *Kṣatriyas*, *Vaiśyas* and *Śūdras* carrying on their respective duties. The four *Āśramas* with *Samkalpa* (Ritualism) as the fifth are prevalent among human beings contributing to the attainment of heaven or emancipation. There can be no doubt that here we have a description of *Bhāratavarṣa*, which is Brahmanised, as the *varṇ-āśrama-vyavasthā* is here said to be prevalent. This *Bhāratavarṣa* again is practically the same in extent as is supposed at present. But we are here concerned with the eastern extremity which, as we have just seen, is formed by the country of the *Kirātas*. This *Kirāta deśa* has been taken to stand for *Tiperra*. It corresponds to the *Kirrhadia* of *Ptolemy*, and included also *Sylhet* and *Assam*. The passage from the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* is practically the same as that of *Matsya* in Chap. 114, v. 5 and ff. Some verses, again from this passage are traceable in the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*. It is thus clear that this social description of India cannot be later than circa 250 A. D.², which represents practically the last period when the original *Purāṇa* was recast. We may therefore infer that about this time the whole of India was brought under the influence of Brahmanism. This influence is confirmed by an additional passage from the *Vāyu-Purāṇa*. Chapter XXIII of this work sets forth an account of the twenty-eight incarnations of *Śiva*. The last or twenty-eighth is *Lakuliśa*, but one incarnation which preceded him is called *daṇḍī Munīśvara*, and took place, we are told, in *Koṭivarsa* which has been identified with *Bāṅgarh* in the *Dinājpur District* of Bengal. If about the middle of the third century A. D. a town in the north-east of Bengal could be so famous as to be the place of an incarnation of *Śiva*, the conclusion is irresistible that even the extreme part of Bengal was Brahmanised by this time. Nevertheless, it is not inconceivable that this province being on the inner fringe of

1. Chap. 45. v. 72 ff.

2. *Ind. Ant.*, 1928, pp. 177-8. The passage in question probably consists of two parts belonging to two different periods, that referring to the *Cakravatin's* domain anterior to the advent of the *Maurya* power and that describing the social condition slightly prior to the rise of the *Gupta* supremacy.

Bhāratavarsa and in touch with the Kirāta country, especially its northernmost and easternmost parts, must have remained in an unsettled condition for a long time. Thus the Manu-smṛiti (X. 44), whose composition is placed between the second century B. C. and the second century A. D., name the Puṇḍrakas together with the Yavanas, Śakas, Palhavas and Kirātas as the Kṣatriya races which were degraded to the condition of the Sūdras, in consequence of their neglect of the rites and the Brahmins. As the latter are all races and not peoples, we must take the Puṇḍrakas also to denote a race of that name, and not the inhabitants of the Puṇḍraka country. And further we have to conclude that the Puṇḍrakas or the Puroḥ, at any rate, were not Brahmanised.

The above conclusion based principally on literary texts receives confirmation from epigraphic records. The earliest inscriptions so far found in Bengal are of the Gupta period. Thus on the Susuṇiā rock in the Baṅkurā District is an inscription which mentions one *Mahārāja* Candravarman, son of *Mahārāja* Siṃghavarman, lord of Puṣkarāṇa, who styles himself as slave of Cakrasvāmin (= Viṣṇu). About twenty-five miles east of the Susuṇiā rock and in the same District is a place called Pokharnā situated on the Dāmodar river¹. There can thus be no doubt that he was a local king. And as the inscription is in characters of the fourth century A. D. and he and his father both bear the feudatory title *Mahārāja*, there can be little difficulty in identifying him with Candravarman who is mentioned in the Allahābād pillar inscription as a prince of Āryāvarta exterminated by Samudragupta.² And further in the Faridpur District there is a fort at Koṭalipādā, associated with the name of Candravarman and pertaining to the Gupta period. It is not at all improbable that this fort was built originally by this Candravarman who was a contemporary of Samudragupta³. Candravarman was therefore a ruler of West Bengal with the eastern boundary going as far east as the Faridpur District, the very heart of old Vāṅga. And as he has been called a king of Āryāvarta and was a Vaiṣṇava by persuasion, it is incontrovertible that long before 350 A. D. West Bengal had been Brahma-

1. For this information I am indebted to Mr. K. N. Dikshit, who was Archaeological Superintendent of the Eastern Circle up till 1930.

2. *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, 1925, pp. 254-5.

3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII. p. 84 ff.

nised. Nay, the same Allāhābād pillar inscription helps us to determine also the eastern confine of Āryavārta in the early Gupta period. For among the princes of the provinces on the frontier (*pratyanta-nṛpati*) of Samudragupta's dominions have been specified those of Samatāṭa, Davāka and Kāmarūpa which doubtless represent Easternmost Bengal and Assam. These countries thus seem to be excluded from Āryavārta in the fourth century A. D. They were no doubt being fast brought under the Vedic pale, but do not seem to have been completely Brahmanised even in the Gupta period. This is clearly shown by the contents of the Dāmodarpur copper-plates of Kumāragupta I. and Budhagupta. These are five grants, two of which relate to the Liṅga temples of Kokāmukha-svāmin¹ and Śvetavarāha-svāmin near Donga in a forest in the Himālayas. This no doubt shows that the Śaiva worship was fairly well established in the northernmost part of North Bengal. Two of the remaining three speak of grants being given to Brahmans to enable them to settle in that region and perform *agnihotra*. It appears that a sufficient number of holy Brahmans were not established in that part of the country even in the fifth century A. D., and it was therefore thought necessary to import more from elsewhere and induce them to settle down there with free gifts of land.

It will be seen that by the time of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, that is, certainly earlier than 900 B. C., the Vedic Aryans were able to Brahmanise the eastern part of India as far as Videha and Aṅga. But, strange to say, South Bihar and Bengal were Brahmanised only about the middle of the 3rd century A. D. The Vedic Aryans thus took upwards of one thousand years to disseminate their faith and culture over East India though it was by no means an extensive area. It is true that this part of India had been Aryanised, as early as the time of the Buddha and Mahāvīra. But as already remarked, it was Śramanised, not Brāhmanised. It is well-known that a Śramaṇa sect expects obedience and respect of its laity only to its moral code and its founder respectively. It left the lay followers perfectly free to pursue their old forms of ritual and to adhere to their original social manners and customs. Such was not however the case with Brahmanism, which, although it left the old faiths in many cases untouched, demanded implicit reverence to the Vedas and the Brāhmaṇs and insisted upon its peculiar socio-religious hierarchy, namely, *varṇāśrama*, being introduced and rigorously followed. The question therefore

1. Kokāmukha is mentioned as a Vaiṣṇava *tīrtha* in *Brahma-Purāṇa* (*Bibliotheca Indica*), p. 296, vs. 106-7.

naturally arises : why did these Aryans take such a long time to Brahmanise this part of the country when they did the other parts of India in a comparatively short time. From what quarter could they have encountered opposition to the spread of Brahmanism ? The question is natural to ask, but is not so easy to answer. In this connection we have to bear one thing in mind. East India is important not only ethnically but also politically. There is a story which narrates that the countries of Aṅga, Vaṅga, Puṇḍra, Suhma and Kaliṅga were called after the princes of these names who were the five sons of the Asura king Bali, begotten on his queen Sudeṣṇā by the sage Dirghatamas. The story is told not only in the Vāyu-¹ and the Matsya²-Purāṇa but also in the Mahābhārata,³ and what is still more noteworthy is that there are many verses of this narrative which are common to them all. This shows that this tradition goes up to a very early period, to a period perhaps earlier than 350 B. C. when the first compilation of the Purāṇa took place. Whether Bali ever had sons of these names is doubtful. But it is perfectly reasonable to hold that Aṅga, Vaṅga, Puṇḍra, Suhma and Kaliṅga were once occupied by the Asura people. The whole of East India, comprising these provinces, has been designated *Bāleya-kṣetra* in the Purāṇas. There were Brāhmaṇs also in this region who were known at Bāleya⁴ and who thus seem to be of the Asura race. That the Asuras had *Brahmans* or priests is clear from a passage from the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa.⁵ The sage Dirghatamas, we are informed, had a quarrel with his wife who instructed her sons to throw him into the Ganges. The sons placed their blessed father on a wooden raft and sent him adrift over the river. And as he was flowing along the current of the river, Bali saw him and took him to his palace. It is clear that Bali's capital was situated somewhere in East India on the Ganges. There is another tradition of an equally powerful Asura king being connected with this part of the country. There is a place in the Dinajpur District of Bengal called Bāṅgarh or Bāṅ-nagar,⁶ which is full of ancient remains and which is said to be the capital of the

1. Chap. 99, v. 27 ff.

2. Chap. 48, v. 24 ff.

3. *Ādi-P.*, chap. 104, v. 33 ff.

4. *Harivaṁśa*, v. 1685. I am indebted to Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghosh for this reference.

5. SBE., Vol XII. p. 29.

6. Cunningham's *Arch. Surv. Ind. Rep.*, Vol. XV. p. 95.

celebrated Asura ruler, Bāṇa, said to be a son of Bali. The *Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi*¹ of Hemacandra gives Devikōṭa, Uṣāvana, Koṭivarṣa and Sonitapura as other names of Bāṇapur.² Bāṅgarh is still known by the first of these, that is as Devikōṭa. And we have the evidence of the Dāmodarapur copper-plates to show that Koṭivarṣa which is mentioned there as the principal town of the District from which they were issued must have been situated in the Dinājpur District.³ This evidence therefore points to this Bāṅgarh or Devikōṭa being the traditional capital of the renowned Asura king Bāṇa.⁴ That East India was in this early period dominated by the Asuras has just been shown, i. e., where we tried to explain the name Kālakā-vaṇa. It can be proved in another way also. The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa⁵ which mentions Māthava the Videgha having crossed the Sadānirā speaks of the Asuras as the Prācyas, which we know was another name of Magadha or South Bihār, if not, for the whole of East India. In fact, in ancient times Bihār and west Bengal formed one political unit. Thus when Alexander came into India, and wanted to conquer that part of the country which was to the east of the Sarasvatī, he heard that it was dominated by Agrammes or Xandrames, king of the Praisoi and the Gangaridae.⁶ It has been admitted on all hands that the Praisoi corresponds the Prācyas or Magadha. The other name however has puzzled the scholars. But it appears reasonable to take the Gangaridae as equivalent to Gāṅga-Rāḍha. That Rāḍha denotes West Bengal is too well-known to be pointed out. Rāḍha is sometimes written as Lāḍha or Lāḷa and confounded with Lāṭa or Southern Gujarat of the Bombay Presidency. The story of Vijaya colonising Ceylon is a clear proof how the two Lāḷas were confounded, some contending that Rāḍha, and some that Lāṭa, was his real home. To prevent this confusion, the eastern Lāḷa was probably called Gāṅga-Rāḍha, because it was situated by the side of the Ganges. In fact, the king of Pātali-putra was designated king of Prācyā and Gāṅga-Rāḍha. The

1. Chap. IV. v. 977.

2. See also Puruṣottamadeva's *Trikāṇḍa-Śeṣa* (II. 197).

3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV. p. 116.

4. See also *Śānti-P.*, Chap. 339, vs. 90-1, where Bāṇa's kingdom is located as being contiguous with Prāgjyotiṣa.

5. XIII. 8. 1. 5 SBE., Vol. XLIV. pp. 423-4.

6. This is so according to Q. Curtius Rufus and Diodorus (*Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, by J. W. Mc. Crindle, pp. 221-2 281-2). Plutarch, however, speaks, not of the 'king but 'kings' of the Gandaritai and Praisiai. This seems to be an inaccuracy.

earlier capital of Prācyā or Magadha was Girivraja which was another name of Rājagṛha. One powerful monarch of Girivraja in ancient times was Jarāsaṁdha, who, it is worthy of note, has been called an Asura in the Mahābhārata.¹ The descendants of Jarāsaṁdha the Bārhadrathas who were the rulers of Girivraja, according to the Purāṇas, before it was seized by Śiśunāga, founder of the Śiśunāga dynasty. It seems that from the time of the Śatapatha-Brahmana almost to the advent of Śiśunāga to power, Bihār continued to be under the rule of the Asura kings. In the seventh century A. D. Bhāskara-varman, king of Prāgyotiṣapura and contemporary and ally of Harṣavardhana, traced his descent from Narakāsura.² About two centuries later we have two royal families ruling over Assam who were similarly descended from Naraka and Bhagadatta of epic fame and also from Śālastambha who is distinctly called a Yavana in their inscriptions.³ Legends are thus confirmed by the epigraphic and historic accounts. The Asuras were thus settled in East India from Bihār to Assam and represented one of their many colonies spread over the country. They had culture and civilisation of their own, as may be seen from a critical study of the Brāhmaṇas, Mahābhārata and Purāṇas. The socio-religious fabric of the Asuras must have resisted very strongly and for a long time the inroads of Brahmanism, until at last the latter transplanted itself on the Asura civilisation. In fact, the civilisation of pre-Mauryan India especially in Magadha was a fusion of the Aryan and Asura cultures.

1. *Śānti-P.*, Chap. 339, v. 93.

2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII. p. 73 ff.

3. *Jour. A. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. IX. Pt. I. p. 767; Vol. LXVI. Pt. I pp. 123 and 289; Vol. LXVII. Pt. I. p. 106.

ORIGIN OF THE RAJPUTS
(A) THE NATIONALITY OF THE GUJARS

BY
NIHARRANJAN RAY, M. A.

It was in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary* for 1910, that Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, in his paper on *Foreign Elements in Hindu Population* tried, most probably for the first time, to bring forward positive historical and epigraphic evidence in favour of the foreign origin of the Gurjaras, and, for the matter of that, of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. Since then, the theory has found acceptance with all unbiassed scholars and historians; but it has recently met with opposition, as is quite natural, with some orthodox section of our countrymen. There are only two scholars, so far known, who have seriously doubted the conclusions arrived at by the Professor. Of these, Mr. C. V. Vaidya must first be taken into consideration, for his is the most vehement protest, recorded on the pages of his *Medieval History of Hindu India* Vols I and II. Another strong protest comes from the pen of Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Hirāchānd Ojhā who writes in Hindi in his *History of Rajputana*. There is now a general consensus of opinion amongst scholars that the Rajputs, like most of the Brahmans were originally of non-Indian extraction and that the former were the descendants of foreign peoples who entered India about the beginning of the 6th century, A. D., i. e. of the Hunas and the Gurjaras. "This view" says Mr. Vaidya (Vol. II. P. 9) "is supported, if not originated by some Indian researchers like Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar and naturally enough is also accepted by the erudite editor of Tod's 'Annals of Rajasthan.'" This last editor of Tod's monumental work is, of course, the late Mr. William Crooke whose service to the Ethnology and Ancient History of India cannot possibly be overrated. It is thus hinted by Mr. Vaidya or rather implied by him that William Crooke had no power of judgment which he could call his own and has followed Prof. Bhandarkar by slavishly accepting his views about the origin of the Rajputs. I am afraid the words 'naturally enough' in the remarks of Mr. Vaidya just quoted can scarcely bear any other interpretation. He then quotes two long extracts from William Crooke's edition of the *Annals of Rajasthan* and winds up the discussion by saying: "This long extract would also show how the latest English re-

searchers do not believe in the generally accepted view of the Rajputs that they are the representatives of Vedic Kṣatriyas." We have quoted these observations of Mr. Vaidya with a view to enlighten the scholars on the mentality with which he has written his "*History of Mediaeval Hindu India*" in two volumes. We also notice with regret the same sort of mentality in M. M. Gaurishankar Hirachānd Ojhā when he writes about the Rajputs in his *Hindi History of Rajputana* now in three volumes.

Let us now proceed to consider what arguments Mr. Vaidya has advanced for refuting Prof. Bhandarkar's theory about the origin and migration of the Gurjaras. The earliest mention of the Gurjaras is made in the *Harṣa Carita* of Bāṇa where Prabhākara Vardhana is stated to have defeated the Gurjaras along with Hūṇas and others. They are also mentioned in the itinerary of Yānchwang who informs us that the king was looked upon as a Kṣatriya. We can, therefore, assume that the Gurjaras appeared on the scene of Indian History by the middle of the 6th century A. D. along with the Hūṇas, and already by the middle of the 7th century, they were regarded as Kṣatriyas. The word Gujar or Gurjara, has survived in the names of many Brahman and Kṣatriya families of comparatively later date, and this has been well pointed out by the Professor.

The contemporaneity of the appearance on the Indian soil of the Hūṇas and Gurjaras, and the gradual migration of both the races from the North towards the East and South, traces of which have survived, in case of the latter, in the different place and tribal names, would warrant us to think that the Gurjaras like the Hūṇas were a foreign race, who had penetrated into India from the north-west and gradually advanced towards the interiors where, within a century, they had thoroughly imbibed the Hindu religion and culture, just as the Hūṇas did. The equation of the Gujars with the Khazars of the borderland of Europe and Asia had first been made by Sir James Campbell and was later on upheld by Prof. Bhandarkar. The whole theory has thus come to be accepted by all scholars who are not obsessed with any patriotic or socio-religious bias. It seems that the equation and identification rest on assured grounds. (*Foreign Elements in Hindu Population*. pp. 24-25.)

But let us see, how an attempt has recently been made to refute the theory of the foreign origin of the Gurjaras. Mr. C. V.

Vaidya in his "*History of Mediaeval Hindu India* (vol. I. P. 63) says, "The fact that the lowest population of the Punjab and Rajputana is distinctly Aryan in type also proves that many of the peoples, now and even then looked upon as Śūdras were in reality Aryan by race. The peoples who have suffered most in this way were the Jāt populations.....The Marathas have suffered still more in this manner.....The Gurjaras are also in appearance Aryan though they are darker in complexion." So far Mr. Vaidya says nothing that can disprove the foreign origin of any of these peoples, for even if we admit that they are really Aryans, it does not prove that they could not be foreigners. In fact originally the Aryans themselves were foreigners, and even in later times of which we are speaking there were Aryan stocks outside India with non-Indian culture, who poured into the country from time to time and became Hinduised; and who can vouchsafe that the Khazar-Gujars did not belong to one of these stocks ?

He further says (p. 77) (a) "The similarity of sound has often misled antiquarians into strange theories and the attempt to identify the Gujars with the Khizars is not less strange than the now generally abandoned identification of the Jāts with the Gaetoe. It is here anthropometry and history should step in to correct such wrong identification.....The case of the Gujars also falls in the same category (as that of the Hūnas). They are men with finest noses in India with long head and tall statures. They are no doubt dark in complexion, but complexion does not count much in the determination of race...Under these circumstances, ethnologically speaking the Jāts and the Gurjars are decidedly Aryan in race and similarity in names ought not to mislead us into believing them to be descendants of the Gaetoe or Khizar's who were undoubtedly Mongolian in race." Mr. Vaidya, however, curiously enough, adduces no grounds to show how the Khazars have been taken as 'undoubtedly Mongolian in race.' Their origin is still disputed and from what we infer from their anthropological peculiarities they seem to be akin more with the Aryans than with the Mongolians. We, therefore, importunately request Mr. Vaidya in the interest of history and anthropology to show us clearly why he thinks that the Khazars were 'Mongolian in race.' Again, elsewhere he elaborates the same argument and says that it is absurd to identify the Gujars with the Khijars, 'for the Khijars were fair-skinned, black-haired, and of remarkable beauty,' and the 'kara' (black) Khazars were, however, ugly, short, and almost as black as

Indians.' This line of reasoning is a bit involved. What Mr. Vaidya perhaps means is that 'there were black Khazars indeed but they were ugly and short. The Indian Gujars are all tall with fine features though dark in complexion. The tall beautiful Khazars are on the other hand very fair and not dark like the Gujars.' So the latter cannot represent any type of Khazars. But the dark complexion of the Gujars in India need not at all stand in the way of their equation with the Khazars. Because both were of remarkable beauty, of black hair, and of sharp features. There is only the difference of colour which may be explained away by saying that the tropical climate of the Punjab and Rajputana was responsible for the black colour which they have. And Mr. Vaidya himself asserts at a certain place (p. 77) that 'complexion does not count much in the determination of race.' Thirdly, it is not merely the 'similarity' in names' that suggested the identification of the Gujars with the Khazars. It was, no doubt, what first gave the hint. But this hint at once found support in their almost synchronous appearance. For, the Gujars came to be known on the Indian soil almost synchronously with the Khazars on the borderland of Europe and Asia. It receives further support in the traces of the historical migration of the Gujars from the north-west gradually to the east and south. It is a fact of history that by the 4th and 5th centuries of the Christian Era, a great movement of races began in West Central Asia and down about the spurs of the Caucasus whence different races began to stir out and pour incessantly into Europe to mark the beginnings of the Middle Ages, as also in India to turn a new chapter of her history. Of the races that penetrated into Europe, the Goths, the Vandals and Huns were the most prominent. Europe still remembers with dread the name of Attila the Hun, the most notable representative of the race last named. An offshoot of the Huns, as we know, entered India too. And at the same time the Khazars also must have begun to move and send out offshoots, of which the Gurjaras were one. This also explains the contemporaneity of the appearance of the Huns and the Gurjaras on the Indian soil.

(b) The second objection raised by Mr. Vaidya is only a negative assertion. As the country of the Khazars bordered on Persia and Byzantine and as they were for the most part restricted to that area, he finds it difficult to believe that the Khazars ever came to India', and further asserts that 'history contains no mention of their having done so,'

It is not clear what Mr. Vaidya means by saying that history does not contain any mention of the migration of the Khazars. The article on Khazars in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* seems to show that they had to move when they were pressed tight down by the Hūnas from the North. And as pointed out by Sir James Campbell, the place and tribal names like Gujaristhān, Ujaristhan, Hazara, Khazara, all beyond the Hindukus and outside the boundaries of India, give a sufficiently clear history of their immigration into India. Prof. Bhandarkar has already pointed out the mention of 'Kachchhara' in Varāhamihira, philologically so closed to Khazar. He has also pointed out the obverse legend (Khi)jara, and the reverse Śrī Prakāśāditya (note the characteristic Indian name) on an Ephthalite coin found in the old Sapādalakṣa country. Is not (Khi)jara only a corrupt form of Khajara and Indian form of Khazar? Does Mr. Vaidya seriously think that this is not tantamount to historical evidence?

(c) "The disposition and occupation of the Khazars" says Mr. Vaidya, "seen also to differ diametrically from those of the Gujars." The Khazars were "a civil and commercial people and founders of cities" and the "Gujars were nomads and cattle-breeders by profession." But this difference of disposition and occupation does not necessarily stand in the way of their being one and the same people. The argument of any change of profession is not sound. For such instances are not at all infrequent. In Ancient India we have instances of even Brāhmaṇas becoming Kṣatriyas by profession. In modern times professions do scarcely count in the determination of race or even caste. Brahmanas and Kṣatriyas are now actually seen following the professions of Vaiśyas and Śūdras.

(d) Mr. Vaidya says, that "the Gujars could not have been foreigners as they could not have succeeded in gaining the status of Kṣatriyas within a hundred years of their coming into India." I am afraid, no student of the ancient history and culture of India can ever bring himself to agree with Mr. Vaidya in this respect. He will do well to turn the pages of any textbook of Indian History and there find numerous instances of foreigners adopting Hindu names, imbibing Hindu culture, and thus admitting themselves into the Hindu fold and gaining the status of a Brahman or Kṣatriya there-in within a century of their immigration. Even an orthodox Pandit like M. M. Pramathnāth Tarkabhūṣaṇ in his presidential address of the

Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahāsabhā held at Mymensingh (Bengal) in 1928 was logically compelled to accept the view having regard to the cogency of the evidence set forth in Prof. Bhandarkar's paper alluded to above. The clear instance of this Bengali Pandit is enough to show that what is wanted is the judicial frame of mind, and not the spirit of advocacy.

KUMĀRILA'S VERSES ATTACKING THE JAIN AND BUDDHIST NOTIONS OF AN OMNISCIENT BEING

BY

Dr. K. B. PATHAK, B. A., Ph. D.

I have proved that Kumārila has attacked the view of Samantabhadra and Akalaṅkadeva that Arhan alone is sarvajña. I have also shown that Akalaṅkadeva's two junior contemporaries Pātrakesari and Prabhācandra have made a very spirited reply to the author of the Mīmāṃsāslokavārtika. In the last mentioned work Kumārila has also very severely criticised the Buddhist notion that Sugata alone is sarvajña. He says—

रागादिरहिते चास्मिन् नुर्व्यापारे व्यवस्थिते ।
देशनाऽन्यप्रणातेव स्यादृते प्रत्यवेक्षणात् ॥ १३७ ॥
सान्निध्यमात्रतस्तस्य पुंसश्चिन्तामणेरिव ।
निःसरन्ति यथा कामं कुड्यादिभ्योऽपि देशनाः १३८ ॥
एवमायुच्यमानं तु श्रद्धाधानस्य शोभते ।
कुड्यादिनिःसृतत्वाच्च नाश्वासो देशनास्तु नः ॥ १३९ ॥
किं तु बुद्धप्रणीताः स्युः किमु कैश्चिद्बुद्धात्मभिः ।
अदृश्यैर्विप्रलम्भार्थं पिशाचादिभिरीरिताः ॥ १४० ॥

Mīmāṃsā'slokavārtika, p. 87.

This has naturally provoked a reply from the Buddhist author Śāntarakṣita, who, before entering upon the defence of the Buddhist view, gives the text of Kumārila as known to him thus:—

तस्मिन्ध्यानसमापन्ने चिन्तारत्नवदास्थिते ।
निश्चरन्ति यथाकामं कुड्यादिभ्योऽपि देशनाः ॥ ३२४१ ॥
ताभिर्जिज्ञासितानर्थान्सर्वान् जानन्ति मानवाः ।
हितानि च यथाभवं क्षिप्रमासादयन्ति ते ॥ ३२४२ ॥
इत्यादि कीर्त्यमानं त श्रद्धाधानेषु शोभते ।
वयमश्रद्धाधानास्तु ये युक्तीः प्रार्थयामहे ॥ ३२४३ ॥
कुड्यादिनिःस्व(सृ ?)तानां च न स्यादाप्तोपदिष्टता ।
विश्वासश्च न तासु स्यात्केनेमाः कीर्तिता इति ॥ ३२४४ ॥
किं नु बुद्धप्रणीताः स्युः किं नु ब्राह्मणवज्जकैः ।
क्रीडद्विरूपदिष्टाः स्युर्दूरस्थप्रतिशब्दकैः ॥ ३२४५ ॥

किंवा क्षुद्रपिशाचायेरदृष्टैरेव कीर्तिताः ।

तस्मान्न तासु विश्वासः कर्तव्यः प्राज्ञमानिभिः ॥ ३२४६ ॥

Tattvasaṃgraha, Vol. II, p. 844.

If we compare the two passages cited above, we find that the 4th and 5th lines in the first passage are identical or nearly so with the 2nd and 5th lines in the second passage. Besides the readings in the first passage निःसरन्ति and निःसृतत्वाच्च of the 4th and 6th lines are obviously more correct than the readings निःसरन्ति and निः स्व(सुः ?)तानांच in the second passage. In other respects the second passage seems to me more reliable. This only shows the degree of corruption to which the text as given in the Benares edition of Kumārila's work has undergone.

The text of the Benares edition apart, the most important point that attracts the notice of the student of the Digambara-Jaina literature of Southern India is the following passage in the *Tattvasaṃgraha* :—

न चागमाविधिः कश्चिदित्यादावाह—आगमेन त्वित्यादि ।

आगमेन तु सर्वज्ञो नास्माभिः प्रतिपाद्यते ।

लैङ्गे सति हि पूर्वोक्ते को नामागमतो वदेत् ॥ ३५१० ॥

न हि वस्तुचलप्रवृत्तानुमानसंभवे सति कश्चिदिच्छामात्रानुविधायिनो वचनाद्वस्तुसिद्धिमाविच्छेत् । अतो न वयमागमात्सर्वज्ञं साधयामः ।

किं तर्हि ? । अनुमानात् । तच्च पूर्वोक्तमेव ॥ ३५१० ॥

The verse of Kumārila alluded to above is given by Śānta-rakṣita in the earlier part of his work runs thus :—

न चागमाविधिः कश्चिन्नित्यः सर्वज्ञबोधकः ।

रुत्रिमेण त्वसत्येन स कथं प्रतिपाद्यते ॥ ३१८७ ॥

Tattvasaṃgraha, p. 831.

But we know that Samantabhadra has tried to 'prove in his *Āptamīmāṃsā* that Arhan alone is omniscient. And his first commentator Akalaṅkadeva relies upon आगम in explaining Samantabhadra's words. This fully accounts for the hostile attitude of Kumārila in subjecting to adverse criticism the *Āptamīmāṃsā* and the *Aṣṭaśatī*. From my paper entitled the position of Kumārila in Digambara-Jaina literature it is plain that Pātrakesari and Prabhācandra, the two junior contemporaries of Akalaṅkadeva, have attempted to vindicate the *Āptamīmāṃsā* and the *Aṣṭaśatī* from the attacks of the illustrious *Mīmāṃsaka*. The difficulty with which I was confronted when I wrote that paper was to trace to their source the numerous verses

found in the *Aṣṭasahasrī* and the *Prameyakamalamārtanḍa*. This difficulty has now entirely disappeared owing to the discovery and publication of the Buddhist work *Tattvasaṃgraha*. In this work *Śāntarakṣita* quotes numerous verses refuting the existence of an omniscient being; and his commentator *Kamalaśīla*, who is also his disciple, unhesitatingly ascribes the authorship of these verses to *Kumārila*. The last part of the *Tattvasaṃgraha*, where this subject is treated, is called *अतीन्द्रियदर्शिपुरुषपरीक्षा*. This begins at page 815, *Kumārila's* verses are cited upto page p. 844 where we find *Kamalaśīla's* statement,

एतावत्कुमारिलेनोक्तं पूर्वपक्षीकृतम् ।

The number of verses here ascribed to *Kumārila* is 122 while the number of verses quoted in the *Aṣṭasahasrī* and the *Prameyakamalamārtanḍa* is 31 and 32. I shall compare these verses. In the *Aṣṭasahasrī*, p. 5 we read,

तदुक्तं ।

सुगतो यदि सर्वज्ञो (ज्ञः) कपिलो नेति का प्रमा ।

तावुभौ यदि सर्वज्ञौ मतभेदः कथं तयोरिति ।

Vidyānanda-pātrakesari thus parodies the verse

तदेवं वक्तव्यं भावना यदि वाक्यार्थो नियोगो नेति का प्रमा

तावुभौ यदि वाक्यार्थो हतौ भट्टप्रभाकराविति ।

कार्यर्थे चोदना ज्ञानं स्वरूपे किं न तत्प्रमा ।

द्वयोश्चेद्भ्रान्तौ तौ नष्टौ भट्ट वेदान्तवादिनाविति ॥

In the *Tattvasaṃgraha*, p. 822 we read

सुगतो यदि सर्वज्ञः कपिलो नेति का प्रमा ।

अथोभावापि सर्वज्ञो मनभेदस्तयोः कथम् ॥ ३१२९ ॥

The second line is slightly modified. In refuting this *Śāntarakṣita* says,

सुगतस्तेन सर्वज्ञः कपिलो नेति तु प्रमा ।

अनन्तरोदिता व्यक्ताप्येषा मूढैर्न लक्षिता ॥ ३३२७ ॥

In the *Mīmāṃsāsloka-vārtika* Benares ed, p. 81, we have the following verse :—

सर्वज्ञो दृश्यते तावन्नेदानमिस्मदादिभिः ।

निराकरणवच्छक्या न चासीदिति कल्पना ॥ ११७ ॥

The commentator *Pārthasārathimīśra* explains the second line thus तेन प्रत्यक्षं तावन्नास्ति तत्सद्भावे प्रमाणमिति । नाप्यनुमानेनासावासीदिति शक्यते कल्पयितुं विपरीतस्यैवानुमानादित्याह निराकरणवदिति । न हि सद्भावास्यानुमापकं

लिङ्गमास्ति । This explanation being irreconcilable with the second line, the text before the commentator must be as follows :

सर्वज्ञो दृश्यते तावन्नेदानीमस्मदादिभिः ।

दृष्टो न चैकदेशोस्ति लिङ्गं वा योनुमापयेत् ॥

as it is actually found in the *Aṣṭasahasrī*, *Nirnayasagar* ed., p. 45.

Tattvasaṁgraha, 3186 Vol. II p. 830.

Nirnayasagar ed. p. 68.

Prameyakamalamārtanḍa and in *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*.

In spite of this fact the line निराकरणवच्छक्या न चासीदिति कल्पना seems nevertheless genuine, as is evident from the following passage in the *Tattvasaṁgraha* Vol. II, p. 907.

इदं चापरमुक्तं कुमारिलेन “ निराकरणवच्छक्या न चासीदिति कल्पना इति, तत्राह- निराकरणत्यादि ।

निराकरणवच्छक्या न चासीदिति कल्पना ।

इत्युक्तमतीतेऽपि तन्निराकृत्ययोगतः ॥ ३५०५ ॥

यथा किल निराकरणमतीते काले सर्वज्ञस्य शक्यते कर्तं तथासीत्सर्वज्ञ इति न कल्पना शक्यते कर्तुमिति, तदेतदुक्तम्, अतीतेऽपि काले तस्य निराकरणायोगात् । अपि शब्दाद्भव-
द्भविष्यतोरपि कालयोर्न शक्यमिति दर्शयति, न ह्यदर्शनमात्रादभावगतिरिति पूर्व-
मुक्तम् ॥ ३५०५ ॥

Let us examine the following three verses,

न चागमविधिः कश्चिन्नित्यः सर्वज्ञबोधकः ।

न च मन्त्रार्थवादानां तात्पर्यमवकल्प्यते ॥

न चान्यार्थप्रधानेस्तेस्तदस्तित्वं विधीयते ।

न चानुवदितुं शक्यः पूर्वमन्यैरबोधितः ॥

अनादेरागमस्यार्थो न च सर्वज्ञ आदिमान् ।

रुचिमेण त्वसत्येन स कथं प्रतिपाद्यते ॥

The *Aṣṭasahasrī* reads सर्वज्ञबोधनः in the first line, while the reading सर्वज्ञबोधकः is found in the *Tattvasaṁgraha*, the *Prameya-kamalamārtanḍa* and in the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*. But in the *Tattvasaṁgraha* the first and the last line only form one couplet

न चागमविधिः कश्चिन्नित्यः सर्वज्ञबोधकः ।

रुचिमेण त्वसत्येन स कथं प्रतिपाद्यते ॥ ३१८७ ॥

and is accordingly commented upon by Kamalaśīla. On the other hand Pātrakesarī, who was senior to Śāntaraksita and Kamalaśīla, explains the intervening four lines, when he says अन्यार्थप्रधानैर्वचनैरन्यस्य सर्वज्ञस्य विधानासंभवात् । पूर्वं कुतश्चिदप्रसिद्धस्य तैरनुवादायो-
गात् । अनादेरागमस्यादिमत्सर्वज्ञप्रतिपादनाविरोधाच्च ॥

This explanation coupled with the fact that they are found also in the *Prameyakamalamārtanḍa* and the *Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha* inclines me to the opinion that they are genuine though *Sāyaṇamādhava* reads तत्रार्थवादानां instead of मन्त्रार्थवादानां. The following 2 verses in the *Aṣṭasahasrī* are genuine according to *Pātrakesari*, *Śāntaraksita*, *Prabhācandra* and *Sāyaṇamādhava*.

अथ तद्वचनेनैव सर्वज्ञोऽन्यैः प्रतीयते ।
प्रकल्प्येत कथं सिद्धिरन्योन्याश्रययोस्तयोः ॥ ३१८९ ॥
सर्वज्ञोक्तया वाक्यं सत्यं तेन तदस्तित्वा ।
कथं तदुभयं सिध्येत् सिद्धमूलान्तरादृते ॥ ३१९० ॥

In the following verse,

असर्वज्ञप्रणीतास्तु वचनान्मूलवर्जितात् ।
सर्वज्ञमवगच्छन्तः स्ववाक्यात्किं न जानन्ते ॥

the reading किं न जानन्ते which is also found in the *Prameyakamalamārtanḍa*, and is explained by *Pātrakesari* स्ववचनात्किं न तत्प्रतिपत्तिः should be adopted in the *Tattvasaṅgraha*, verse 3190 and the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*. The next verse in the *Aṣṭasahasrī* is also found in the *Prameyakamalamārtanḍa* and the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*, though *Sāyaṇamādhava* reads किञ्चित् for कञ्चित्

सर्वज्ञसदृशं कञ्चिद्यदि पश्येम संप्रति ।
उपमानेन सर्वज्ञं जानीयाम ततो वयम् ॥

This appears in the *Tattvasaṅgraha* with much variation in the second line thus :—

सर्वज्ञसदृशं कञ्चिद्यदि पश्येम संप्रति ।
तदा गम्येत सर्वज्ञसद्भावं उपमाबलात् ॥ ३२१५ ॥

The following four verses are found in the *Aṣṭasahasrī* and the *Prameyakamalamārtanḍa*.

उपेक्षो हि बुद्धादेर्धर्माधर्मादिगोचरः ।
अन्यथाप्युपपद्येत सर्वज्ञो यदि नाभवत् ॥
बुद्धादयो ह्यवेदज्ञास्तेषां वेदादसंभवः ।
उपदेशः कृतोतस्तैर्व्यामोहादेव केवलात् ॥
ये तु मन्वादयः सिद्धाः प्राधान्येन त्रयीविदाम् ।
त्रयीविदाश्रितयन्थास्ते वेदप्रभवोक्तयः ॥
यज्जातीयैः प्रमाणैस्तु यज्जातीयार्थदर्शनम् ।
दृष्टं संप्रति लोकस्य तथा कालान्तरेऽप्यभूत् ॥

Tattvasaṃgraha and Prameyakamalamārtanḍa read नोपपद्येत and न भवेत्. Pr. K. M. reads सार्वज्ञं and Sarvad. S. reads सार्वत्र्यं. The second verse appears in the Tattvasaṃgraha thus :—

ये हि तावद्वेदज्ञास्तेषां वेदादसंभवः ।

उपदेशरुतो यस्तैर्व्यामोहादेव केवलान् ॥ ३२२* ॥

उपदेशः कृतो is the correct reading. The remaining two verses 3228 and 3159 in the Tattvasaṃgraha are the same as in the Pra. K. M. and the Aṣṭasahasrī. The next two verses in the two last mentioned works are,

सर्वप्रमानुसंबन्धिप्रत्यक्षादिनिवारणान् ।

केवलागमगम्यत्वं लप्स्यते पुण्यपापयोः ॥

धर्मज्ञत्वनिषेधस्तु केवलोत्रोपयुज्यते ।

सर्वमन्यद्विज्ञानंस्तु पुरुषः केन वार्यते ॥

The Tattvasaṃgraha 3142 & 3128, reads संबद्ध, निषेधश्चेत् and विज्ञानानः

A most interesting passage containing 8 verses occurs in the Aṣṭasahasrī p. 47 and Pr. Kamalamārtanḍa, p. 69. It runs thus :—

यत्राप्यतिशयो दृष्टः स स्वार्थानतिलङ्घनान् ।

दूरसूक्ष्मादिदृष्टौ स्यान्न रूपे श्रोत्रवृत्तिता ॥

येपि सातिशया दृष्टाः प्रज्ञामेधादिभिर्नराः ।

स्तोकस्तोकान्तरत्वेन न त्वतीन्द्रियदर्शनात् ॥

प्राज्ञोपि हि नरः सूक्ष्मानर्थान् द्रष्टुं क्षमोपि सन् ।

स्वजातीरनतिक्रामन्नतिशेते परान्नरान् ॥

एकशास्त्रविचारेषु दृश्यतेतिशयो महान् ।

न तु शास्त्रान्तरज्ञानं तन्मात्रेणैव लभ्यते ॥

ज्ञात्वा व्याकरणं दूरं बुद्धिः शब्दापशब्दयोः ।

प्ररुण्यते न नक्षत्रतिथिग्रहणानिर्णये ॥

ज्योतिर्विच्च प्ररुण्योपि चन्द्रार्कग्रहणादिषु ।

न भवत्यादिशब्दानां साधुत्वं ज्ञानुमहति ॥

तथा वेदेतिहासादिज्ञानातिशयवानपि ।

न स्वर्गदेवतापूर्वग्रन्थक्षीकरणे क्षमः ॥

दशहस्तान्तरव्योम्नि यो नामोत्प्लुत्य गच्छति ।

न योजनमसौ गन्तुं शक्नोभ्यासशतैरपि ॥

If we except the first verse, the remaining seven verses are quoted and explained in the Aptaparīkṣā and ascribed to Bhaṭṭa.

In the first verse *Tattvasaṃgraha* 3387 reads स्वस्वार्थान् while the correct reading स स्वार्थान् is found in the *Aṣṭasahasrī* and the Pr. K. *Mārtanda*. In the same verse the *Aṣṭasahasrī* reads श्रोत्र-वृत्तिता the better reading श्रोत्रवृत्तिः being found in the *Tattvasaṃgraha* 3337 and the Pr. K. *Mārtanda*. *Tattvasaṃgraha* 3160 has प्रज्ञामेधावलैः instead of प्रज्ञामेधादिभिः found in the *Aṣṭasahasrī* and Pr. K. *Mārtanda*. *Tattvasaṃgraha* 3161 is the same as in the *Aṣṭasahasrī*, *Āptaparīkṣā* and Pr. K. *Mārtanda*. *Tattvasaṃgraha* 3164 has

एवं शास्त्र विचारेषु दृश्यतेति शयो महान् ।

न तु शास्त्रान्तरज्ञानं त(स्मा)न्मात्रेणैव लभ्यते ॥

This is wrong. The correct verse is

एकशास्त्रविचारेषु दृश्यतेति शयो महान् ।

न तु शास्त्रान्तरज्ञानं तन्मात्रेणैव लभ्यते ॥

Aṣṭasahasrī, *Āptaparīkṣā*, Pr. K. *Mārtanda*.

The last named three works read

ज्योतिर्विच्च प्रकृष्टोऽपि चन्द्रार्कग्रहणादिषु ।

instead of

ज्योतिर्विच्च प्रकृष्टोऽपि चन्द्रार्कग्रहणादिकम् (वित् ?) as in *Tattvasaṃgraha* 3166. In the last mentioned work, verses 3167, 3168, we have सर्गे, प्रत्यक्षीं करणक्षमः and व्योम्निः in place of स्वर्गे, प्रत्यक्षीकरणे क्षमः and व्योम्नि which are found in the other three works. सर्गे is positively wrong.

In the *Aṣṭasahasrī* we have the following passage.

एतेन यदुक्तं भट्टेनः—

नरः कोऽप्यस्ति सर्वज्ञः स तु सर्वज्ञ इत्यपि ।

साधनं यत्प्रयुज्येत प्रतिज्ञामात्रमेव तत् ॥

सिद्धसाधयिषितो योर्थः सोऽनया नाभिधीयते ।

यस्तूच्यते न तत्सिद्धौ किञ्चिदस्ति प्रयोजनम् ॥

यदीयागमसत्यत्वसिद्धौ सर्वज्ञतोच्यते ।

न सा सर्वज्ञसामान्यसिद्धिमात्रेण लभ्यते ॥

यावद्बुद्धौ न सर्वज्ञस्तावत्तद्वचनं मृषा ।

यत्र क्वचन सर्वज्ञे सिद्धे तत्सत्यता कुतः ॥

अन्यस्मिन्न हि सर्वज्ञे वचसोन्यस्य सत्यता ।

सामानाधिकरण्ये हि तयोरङ्गगङ्गिता भवेत् ॥

इति तन्निरस्तम् ।

In the first verse *Tattvasaṃgraha* 3230 reads तत्सर्वज्ञत्वमित्यपि and प्रतिज्ञानूनमेव ; in the second verse 3231, यत्तूच्यते ; in the 3rd

verse 3233 सिद्धये. In the remaining two verses, 3234 and 3235 there is no variation.

The following verses are found in the *Mīmāṃsāślokavārtika*, Benares ed, pp. 79, 80 and 86, *Prameyakamalamārtanḍa* pp. 68, 69.

यदि षड्विंशः प्रमाणैः स्यात् सर्वज्ञः केन वार्यते ।
 एकेन तु प्रमाणेन सर्वज्ञो येन कल्प्यते ।
 तूनं स चक्षुषा सर्वान् रसादीन्प्रतिपद्यते ॥
 सर्वज्ञोयमिति हेतुत्तत्कालेपि बुभुक्षुभिः
 तज्ज्ञानज्ञेयविज्ञानरहितैर्गम्यते कथम् ॥
 कल्पनीयाश्च सर्वज्ञा भवेयुर्बहवस्तव ।
 य एव स्यादसर्वज्ञः स सर्वज्ञो न बुध्यते ॥
 सर्वज्ञो नावबुद्धश्च येनैव स्यान्न तं प्रति ।
 तद्वाक्यानां प्रमाणत्वं मूलाज्ञानेन्यवाक्यवत् ॥

With the exception of the first line, the remaining four verses are also found as 3158, 3192, 3191, and 3193 in the *Tattvasaṃgraha*, pp. 824, 832. In the last named work, verse 3158 reads एकेनैव प्रमाणेन in place of एकेन तु प्रमाणेन ; verse 3192 reads thus :—

सर्वज्ञोऽयमिति हेवं तत्कालेरपि बोद्धुभिः ।
 तज्ज्ञानज्ञेयविज्ञानभूयैर्ज्ञातुं न शक्यते ॥ ३१९२ ॥

and verse 3193 stands exactly as it is in the *Prameya-kamalamārtanḍa* and the *Mīmāṃsāślokavārtika*.

The number of verses under discussion is 32½. All these verses are quoted in the *Tattvasaṃgraha* and ascribed to Kumārila by Kamalaśīla. This establishes their genuineness beyond dispute. All these verses are quoted by Prabhācandra, who, however, is silent as regards their authorship. 31 of these verses are quoted by Pātrakesari who says expressly that about 13 of them belong to Bhaṭṭa; while seven of these verses are actually found in the *Mīmāṃsāślokavārtika*, Benares, ed. pp. 79, 80, 86.

All these verses form one argument advanced by a certain *Mīmāṃsaka*, who has, as we are assured by Pātrakesari and Prabhācandra, severely criticised the *Āptamīmāṃsā* and the *Aṣṭaśaṭī*. Since 7 of these verses are found in the *Mīmāṃsāślokavārtika*, I conjectured that the rest also ought to find a place there; this conjecture is amply confirmed by the express statement of Kamalaśīla that they belong to Kumārila,

From the verses discussed above it is evident that some of them are aimed at the Buddhists, and the rest are aimed both at the Buddhists and the Jains. These latter are replied to by Pātrakesari, Śāntarakṣita and Prabhācandra. These verses do not seem to be directed against any particular Buddhist author. On the other hand Pātrakesari and Prabhācandra assure us that Kumārila has attacked their senior contemporary Akalaṅkadeva and his predecessor Samantabhadra. We have already seen that Śāntarakṣita says that in maintaining the omniscience of Sugata, he does not rely upon आगम but upon logic. But Akalaṅkadeva on the other hand, expressly states that he relies upon आगम and that Arhan does not need the aid of the senses to perceive past, present and future things. This statement has called forth the following verses of Kumārila:—

एवं यैः केवलं ज्ञानमिन्द्रियाद्यनपेक्षिणः ।

सूक्ष्मातीतादिविषयं जीवस्य परिकल्पितम् ॥ १२१ ॥

नर्ते तदागमात्सिद्ध्येन्न च तेनागमो विना ।

दृष्टान्तोपि न तस्यान्यो नृषु कश्चित्प्रवर्तते ॥ १२२ ॥

Mīmāṃsāsīlokavārtika Benares ed. pp. 87, 88.

These verses have been fully explained in my paper on the position of Kumārila in Digambara Jaina literature published in the transactions of the ninth Oriental Congress.

JOINDU AND HIS APABHRAMŚA WORKS

BY

A. N. UPADHYE, M. A.

Contents

Preliminary remarks on the publication of अप. literature.—अप. study and the growth of modern vernaculars.—The moderate ambition of this paper—योगसार publication &c.—Contents of योगसार.—Excerpts from योगसार.—परमात्मप्रकाश, publication and material.—Popularity of प. प्र.—Strength of प. प्र.—Appreciation of the Contents.—An important extract from प. प्र. with English translation.—आवकाचारदीहक Ms.—material.—Contents analysed.—Extensive excerpts.—Quotations traced and the problem of authorship.—दोहापाहुड.—Ms, material.—Nature of the text.—Conflicting evidence as to the authorship.—Textual comparison of दोहापाहुड with other works of जोइंदु.—Contents of दोहापाहुड.—A few excerpts.—Remarks on the style of जोइंदु and bearing thereof on the authorship of दोहापाहुड.—The Sk. form of the author's name—जोइंदु's *date*.—Concluding remarks.—An appendix.

Dr. Jacobi's sagacious prophecy¹ expressed on the eve of his departure from India in 1914, on finding the Ms. of भविसयत्तकहा² of धनपाल, is more than fulfilled. Since 1914 many huge Mss. of अपभ्रंश works have come to light. Some of them are published³ and some are in press. Later on Pt. Premi of Bombay announced the discovery of some huge works such as the हरिवंशपुराण of स्वयंभूदेव; and he gave also the detailed information about the तिस्रिमहापुरिस-गुणालंकार of पुष्पदन्त in Jaina Sāhitya Saṃśodhaka. The late Dr. Gune had made a list of the then known अपभ्रंश works in his introduction to भविसयत्तकहा⁴ where he has incorporated almost all the works noticed by Mr. Dalal in his essay read before the Gujarātī Sāhitya Paṛiṣad. After that an exhaustive

1 He said, 'It is the usual case that if one thing is found many things of the same kind soon come out.'—vide his lecture published in Jaina S. Conference Herald Special number 1914. This statement looks a bit stale when we remember the fact that there was already an अपभ्रंश work published in 1909.

2 First published by Dr. Jacobi in Roman Characters with a weighty introduction in German and by Dr. Gune in G. O. S. in Devanāgarī Characters, with notes etc.

3 Such as अपभ्रंशकाव्यवर्गी, (G. O. S.). जसहरवीरउ of पुष्पदन्त is in press being edited by my revered Prof. Dr. P. L. Vaidya for Chavare Series.

4 In G. O. S.

article on the अपभ्रंश literature has been published by Prof. Hiralal in the Allahabad University Journal ¹ where he has listed many अपभ्रंश works giving short sketches about their authors. Further three अपभ्रंश poems ² have been published in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. By a critical inspection of what are known as Prakrita Mss. we are likely to chance upon many more अपभ्रंश works : from the available works and quotations it appears many Jaina authors might have written big Purāṇas in अपभ्रंश.

It is rightly indeed that day after day the oriental scholars are being interested in this branch of अपभ्रंश literature. The construction of the course of linguistic development of Northern Indian Vernaculars is almost an impossibility without a critical study of अपभ्रंश literature. What we were accustomed to call in most vague terms as old Hindi, old Gujarāṭī and old Bengālī is only a specimen of the further development of अपभ्रंश stage, which in itself is a further linguistic progress of प्राकृत dialects like शौरसेनी and मागधी &c. The above made statement would be quite clear if we turn the pages of गुर्जरकाव्यसंग्रह (G. O. S.). Even अपभ्रंश itself has varieties in it though one might not literally agree with the number of varieties specified by some of the grammarians. Whenever there is a dispute whether a particular work is in old Gujarāṭī or old Hindi; to call it अपभ्रंश would be the safest way for all practical purposes, to describe its dialect. For instance the late Mr. C. D. Dalal said that जंबूसामीरासा ³ of धर्मसूरी (Circa 1210 A. D.) was in old Gujarāṭī while Pt. Premi ⁴ says that it is in old Hindi—i. e. its dialect has more affinity towards Hindi than Gujarāṭī. Certainly it is a slippery ground. For specimen we may see a couple of opening verses from that book :—

⁵ जिणचउविसपय नमेवि गुरुचरण नमेवि
जम्बूस्वामिहिं तणुं चरिय भविउ निसुणेवि
करि सानिध सरसत्तिदेवि जीयरयं (!) कहाणउ
जम्बूस्वामिहिं (सु) गुणगहण संखेवि वखाणउ ॥ १ ॥

1 Vol. I.

2 i संजमंमजरी of महेश्वरसूरी—edited by Dr. Gune (1920) later on incorporated in his Introduction to भविसयचक्रहा.

ii वैराग्यसार of सुप्रभाचार्य—edited by Prof. Velankar. (Vol. IX).

iii भावनासंक्षिप्तकरणम् of जयदेवमुनि—edited by Mr. M. C. Modi, M. A.

3 Published in गुर्जरकाव्यसंग्रह p. 41.

4 Vide हिंदीजैनसाहित्यका इतिहास, जेनाहितैषी, Vol. XII. p. 553.

5 Taken over from Pt. Premi's article. Ibid. The text has many various readings in गुर्जरकाव्यसंग्रह p. 41.

जंबुदीवि सिरिभरहसिचि तिहि नयर पहाणउ
 राजग्रह नामेण नयर पट्टवीवक्खाणउ
 राज करइ सेणिय नरिंद नरवरहं जु सारो
 तासु तणइ अतिबुद्धिवंतमति अभयकुमारो ¹ ॥ २ ॥

The moderate ambition of the present paper is to introduce to oriental scholars some अपभ्रंश works of जोइंदु ² two of which are still in manuscripts and also to discuss his date. Tradition-ally ³ जोइंदु is said to have composed the following works:— i परमात्मप्रकाश (अप°) ii योगसार (अप°) iii नौकारश्रावकाचार (अप°) iv अद्यात्म-संदोह (संस्कृत) v सुभाषिततन्त्र (सं°?) vi तत्त्वार्थटीका (सं°). Here we are mainly concerned with his अपभ्रंश works and I have touched only the topic of his Sanskrit works in the appendix. There are doubtful points about the authorship of some of the works attributed to him and I request the earnest minded students of अपभ्रंश literature to throw further light on the problems discussed in this article. I propose to take up the works of जोइंदु one after another.

॥ योगसार

योगसार is published ⁴ in माणिकचंद्रजैनग्रंथमाला Vol. XXI from a single Ms. with Sanskrit छाया. ⁵ In places, more than one, the text is corrupt and mutilated. As early as 1899 a Hindi Metrical rendering of योगसार was made by Munshi ⁶ Nathuram and published with a Hindi commentary, under the name of स्वातुभवदर्पण

1 Some features like the presence of conjuncts here show the transitional period of the formation of modern Hindi—still in its infancy—which later on began to assimilate more Sanskritic elements just as the Bengali language of cultured people is doing to-day. Why? हेमचन्द्र has noted a few अप° words that retain conjuncts as in ब्रुडु प्राउ, द्रस्य and so forth. See iv 389, 422, 423 etc.

2 I have used the अपभ्रंश form of his name; the reasons are discussed below.

3 See जैनमित्र, p. 585 for 1928. And the face page of the English translation of प. प्र.

4 In 1922.

5 At Karanja there are two Mss of योगसार. One Ms. bears a commentary (वृत्ति) by इन्द्रनन्दी the pupil of अमरकीर्ति (vide. Catalogue of Sk. and प्रा. Mss. in C. P. and Berar edited by R. B. Hirralal p. 685)

6 It is interesting to note that Mr. मुंशी नाथुराम was one of those few Digambar Jains of that period who took a very bold lead in printing religious books. He was abused like any thing: all sorts of humiliations he had to undergo: and he was actually beaten too.

(See जैनहितैषी vol. XIII p. 30)

The Metrical version loses its linguistic charm as the author tries to use Sanskrit forms quite freely. Even contrary to the professed intention ¹ of the author sometimes it is the Hindi version that is more difficult than the original अपभ्रंश one. A few specimen verses I have quoted at the end of this section in foot notes. योगसार contains 107 दोहास and the concluding दोहा runs thus:—

संसारह भयभीएहं जोगिचंदमुणिण ।

अप्यसंबोहण कयहं (इ ?) दोहा एकमणेण ² ॥ १०७ ॥

To summarise the subject matter of योगसार :—the author proposes to write a काव्य, consisting of दोहास, for the benefit of the self and solicits concentrated attention of his readers, most of whom are terror-stricken from the miseries of mundane existence. The work speaks at length on the nature of the soul and its transmigratory peregrinations that plunge it into myriads of miseries in different births. The author discusses the causes of misery and freedom therefrom by self realization. Incidentally he dwells on the importance of Dharma and exhorts the path of meditation.

The ³ soul is wandering in this eternal time; deluded by cognitive-infatutory Karma (दर्शनमोहनीयकर्मन्) it has been subjected to many a misery. It can acquire beatitude by realizing itself and giving up attachment towards material accessories which are after all foreign to the real nature of the Self. The soul is sentient while the rest of the substances are non-sentient. The body, senses and other worldly paraphernalia are really different from this potent Self and the real salvation of the Self lies in the recognition of the fact that the Self is distinct and different from everything else. The Fall consists in this deluded misapprehension as a result of which the Self identifies itself with non-Self. When this differentiation is effected and when the Karmic matter is radically annihilated from the Soul, the mundane Self evolves into that eternal Higher Self endowed with omniscience, omnipotence, and omnibliss. Here then results the higher identity of the Individual and the Universal. It is

1. That the original was difficult and hence he wanted to put forth a Hindi version.

2. The Hindi version runs thus :—

भव मटकनसे भतिहो योगिंद्रमुनिराज ।

प्राकृतदोहोमे रचो निजसंबोधन काज ॥ १०७ ॥

3 In the following paras I have attempted a synthetical summary of the subject matter of योगसार.

the Universal self that is labouring under the denomination of the Individual because of the¹ Karmic shackles that are binding the soul from times immemorial. But for the Karmic limitations the soul is pure, taintless and enlightened. Its powers are crippled and curbed by Karmas. When once the Universal self is evolved we can call that, to satisfy the itch of our tongues, with any honorific epithets, say, different names of higher divinity as adopted in different religions. The ideal Divinity and the individual self, though having distinct individualities, are potentially and qualitatively one, with the only difference that the former is liberated and the latter is not from Karmas; the former is free and the latter is confined in this corporeal temple. The self is one, alone the material accessories and relations being of no real service. The Self is one in birth, one in death and one forever.

The path leading to that evolution of that Higher Self is marked with many a phenomenal practice that would give a moral training to the aspirant; but to mistake these phenomenal and preliminary practices for that Higher Identity is a fatal blow to Self-realization. The phenomenal will have to be soon replaced by Noumenal-Self is self and nothing else-and then comes the attainment of eternal bliss and final liberation.

The division of the cosmos and its interaction, into six substances² and nine categories³ as related by the Jainas is only phenomenal. The real object to be known in its positive and exclusive aspects is the sentient self. To know it thus is to know the world in its sentient and nonsentient varieties.

Real Dharma does not consist merely in ritualistic elaboration, scriptural repetition and corporeal mortification but it consists mainly in abandoning various passions⁴ that work like a brake on the path of Liberation. When the soul is affected by anger, pride, deceit and greed the mind loses its discriminative power and no Right Knowledge can be attained, in the absence

1. Karman according to Jaina Metaphysics is a subtle matter which flows into the soul because of passions and other activities, mental verbal and physical. This Karman theory is peculiarly Jaina.

2. पदार्थ—जीव, पुद्गल, धर्म, अघर्म, आकाश and काल—a discourse on these from परमार्थप्रकाश with English translation is given below.

3. Nine categories are 7 तत्त्व viz (जीव, अजीव, आस्रव, बन्ध, संवर, निर्जरा मोक्ष) together with गुण्य and पाप.

4. कषाय viz. क्रोध, माद, माया and लोभ.

of which Liberation is meaningless. He is a real aspirant likely to attain Liberation, who has given up all material attachments and begun to take pleasure in the tabernacle of the self.

One should give up all kinds of dubitations and concentrate himself on the pure nature of the Self. The 'selves' though individually different have a community of qualitative nature and potentiality, all are naturally sentient and potentially omniscient. By different kinds of meditations one comes to acquire spiritual equanimity which is the next previous step to Liberation.

Be he a householder or a monk if he sincerely meditates on the nature of the Self giving up all attachments to the best of his individual ability, he will certainly be gifted with a spiritual reward which would gradually amount to Final Liberation.

A few specimen doḥas from योगसार are quoted below :—

कालु¹ अणाइ अणाइ जीउ भवसायरु जि अणंतु ।
 मिच्छादंसणमोहियउ ण वि सुह, दुक्ख जि पत्तु ॥ ५ ॥
 णिम्मलु निक्कलु सुदु जिणु किण्हु बुदु सिव संतु ।
 सो परमप्पा जिणभणित एहउ जाणि णिभंतु ॥ ९ ॥
 जो परमप्पा सो जि २ हउँ जो हउँ सो परमप्पु ।
 इउ जाणोविणु जोइआ ! ³ अण्ण म करहु विचप्पु ॥ २२ ॥
 वयतवसंजममूलगुण मूढह मोक्ख णिवुत्तु ।
 जाम ण जाणइ इक्क पर सुद्धउ भावपवित्तु ॥ २९ ॥
 अप्पा अण्णइँ जो मुणइँ जो परभाव चएइ ।
 सो पावइँ सिवपुरगमणु जिणवर एउँ भणेइ ॥ ३५ ॥
 जीवाजीवह मेउ जो जाणइँ तेँ जाणियउ ।
 मोक्खह कारण, एउ भणइँ जोइँ जोइँहिँ भणित (?) ॥ ३८ ॥
⁴ आउ गलइँ ण वि मणु गलइँ ण वि आसा हु गलइँ ।
 मोह फुरइँ ण वि अण्णहिउ इम संसारु भमेइ ॥ ४८ ॥

1 It is intentionally that I have not given the Sk. छाया of these verses. Personally I am against the method of studying अप. with Sk. छाया. This method should be discouraged earlier the better, as it has no reasonable justification.

2 Students of अपभ्रंश Mss. will have to make some concession for the vagary of scribes with respect to the interchange of अनुनासिक and अनुस्वार or adopting either of them or dropping both.

3 योगिन्

4 The Hindi version runs thus.—

आधु गले मन ना गले इच्छाशा न गलंत ।

दृष्ट्वा मोहं सदा बडे गासे भव भटकांत ॥ ४८ ॥

१ धण्णा ते भयवन्तं बुद्धं जे परभाव चयांति ।

लोयालोयपयासयर अप्पा विमल मुणंति^२ ॥ ६३ ॥

विरला जाणहिं तत्तु बुद्ध (ह!) विरला णिमुणहिं तत्तु ।

विरला ज्ञायहिं तत्तु जिय विरला धारहिं तत्तु ॥ ६५ ॥

३ अप्पसरूवह जो रमइ छंडवि सहु ववहार ।

सो सम्माइष्टी हवइ लहु पावइ भवपार ॥ ८८ ॥

II परमात्मप्रकाश

परमात्मप्रकाश or परमप्ययासु has the honour of being the first complete अपभ्रंश work to be printed. Unfortunately it does not appear to have reached the hands of oriental scholars.⁴ The text with Hindi translation was published by Babu Surya Bhanu Vakil as early as 1909. Further in 1916 another edition of it appeared in रायचंद्र जैन शास्त्रमाला Bombay. The text is fairly accurate and it is accompanied by ब्रह्मदेव's⁵ Sanskrit commentary and Pandita Daulata Ramji's⁶ हिंदी टीका which is a Hindi rendering of the Sk. Commentary. In Kanarese also there is a commentary on परमात्मप्रकाश by बाळचंद्रदेव⁷ and so far as my information goes, it is not published anywhere. An English translation⁸ of it with copious notes by Mr. R. D. Jaina, B. A. of Meerut was published from Arrah, in 1915.

From the commentarial literature on परमात्मप्रकाश noted above we can imagine the popularity of that work. Its subject-matter has influenced many Jaina authors of later period. Many Hindi

1 भाग्यवान नर धन्य सो जिन त्यागे परभाव ।

लोकालोकप्रकाशक देखा आत्मराव ॥

2 लोकालोकप्रकाशकर आत्मान विमल ।

3 निजस्वरूपे रमे रमे त्याग सर्व व्यवहार ।

सम्यग्दृष्टी होइ सो शत्रि लहे भवपार ॥ ८८ ॥

4 See opening remarks of Dr. Gune to his Introduction to भविसयत्-कहा.

5 About ब्रह्मदेव's date etc. see below.

6 पं. दौलतराम was a voluminous Hindi writer of the last quarter of 18th Century. He has rendered into Hindi many Sk. Purāṇas. In spite of the peculiarities of his language his works are widely read even in South-Jaina Hitaishī.

7 बाळचंद्रदेव has written Kanarese Commentary on the three works पञ्चास्तिकायसार, प्रवचनसार and समयसार of बुद्धदेव. Comparing his Kanarese Commentary with जयसेन's Sk. Commentary on the same it appears that बाळचंद्र is later than जयसेन—See the discussion of जौड़ु's date below.

8 The translator appears to be guided more by the Hindi translation than by the original text, the translation is now antedated

poets reproduce ideas therefrom quite unconscious of the source. Small ethico-metaphysical treatises in Kanarese like चिन्मयचिन्ता-मणि¹ सिद्धराशि, ज्ञानभास्करचरित borrow many ideas and similes from परमात्मप्रकाश. (प. or प. प्र.).

There is some doubt as to the original strength of प°. Dr. Gune probably on the strength of some Ms. notes that there are 330 दोहास² in प° प्र°. The printed edition, however, has 345 all of which are commented on by ब्रह्मदेव. ब्र. admits some non-अपभ्रंश verses as regular text; for instance, 187 (not in B. Ms.)³ and 344-45 (in B. Ms. also). There are some non-अपभ्रंश verses which he rightly calls प्रक्षेपक, vide 66 (not in B. Ms.), 239 (not in B. Ms.), 240 (not in B. Ms.), 247 (B. admits)⁴. Then there are some अपभ्रंश verses which ब्रह्मदेव calls क्षेपक vide. 28-32 (B. admits them); 124-126 (B. admits them); 241 (B. admits); 268 (not in B.). The Ms. B. gives two दोहास, one between 211 and 212 of the printed edition and another between 264 and 265 but strange indeed that these two दोहास stand merely as अपभ्रंश quotations in the Sk. commentary on दोहास 211 and 264 respectively. The exact strength of प° प्र° can be settled only by collating more Mss.

The contents of परमात्मप्रकाश are of the same nature as those of योगसार given above. Still प. is not without its specialities. It is more systematic in its topical treatment: portions of it are written in conversational form. Some verses are put in the mouth of भट्टप्रभाकर⁵ and the answers thereto in the mouth of जोइंदु. This work is composed at the explicit request of भट्टप्रभाकर.

भावि⁶ पणवि वि पंचगुरु सिरिजोइंदुजिणाउ ।

भट्टपहायरि⁷ विण्णविउ⁸, विमलु करेविणु भावु ॥ ८ ॥

1 Being published by Prof. Kundanagar and myself in a Kanarese Magazine.

2 See his Introduction to म. क.

3 I have compared the printed edition with an accurate Ms. B. the comparative results on these प्रक्षेपक verses I have given in brackets.

4 The verse No 247 is known to हेमचंद्र See, the discussion of the date below.

5 भट्टप्रभाकर is one name and not two names of two different persons as भट्ट and प्रभाकर—and hence the question, whether भट्ट might be कुमारिलभट्ट as put forth by Pt. Premi, loses its force.

6 Some times I have added अनुनासिकः

7 ° पहायरि for पहायरि Inst. Sing.

8 V. L. विण्णयउ

पुण पुण¹ पणविवि पंचगुरु भावि² चित्ति धरेवि ।
 भट्टपहायर णिसुणि तुहुँ अप्पा तिविहु कहेवि ॥ ११ ॥
 इत्थु ण लिव्वउ पंडिचहि³ गुणदोसु वि पुणरुत्तु ।
 भट्टपहायरकारणइ² मइ पुण पुण वि पउत्तु ॥ ३४२ ॥

We do not learn much about this भट्टप्रभाकर from the work. He is a very devoted disciple of जोईदु; he is called वत्स⁷ and addressed as योगिन् more than once. It is not much if one infers that he was a Jaina योगिन् from such phrases:—

पुण पुण पणविवि पंचगुरु (११)
 सिरिगुरु अक्खहि मुक्खु महु (१२७)

परमात्मप्रकाश is a work of cosmopolitan character and there is always an attempt to harness non-Jaina terminology into the service of the Jaina metaphysical conceptions :—

अप्पा कम्मविवज्जियउ केवलणाणे⁴ जेण ।
 लोयालोउ वि मुणइ जिय सव्वगु वुच्चइ तेण ॥ ५२ ॥
 अप्पा पंगुहु⁴ अणुहरइ अप्पु ण जाइ ण एइ ।
 भुवणत्तयहँ वि मज्झि जिय⁵ ! विहि आणइ विहि णेइ ॥ ६७ ॥
 जहि⁶ मइ तहिं गइ जीव तुहुँ मरणु वि जेण लहेहि ।
 तें परबंभु मुएवि मइं मा परदवि करेहि ॥ ११३ ॥
 जं सिवदंसणि परमसुहु पावहि क्षाणु करंतु ।
 तं सुहु भुवाणि वि अत्थि ण वि मेळिवि देउ अणंतु ॥ ११७ ॥

This work recognizes the two standpoints of viewing things viz. व्यवहारनय and निश्चयनय⁷ and in majority of cases the subject matter is treated from the second view point. The author is true योगी, a devotee of the self, rising above the petty sectarian biases in the spiritual domain.

1 V. L. पुण पुण

2 Inst. Sing. quite usual in जोईदु's works.

3 पुग्गलु उत्तिहुत्त वढ (145). Brahmadewa uniformly translates वढ as वत्स but हेमचन्द्र specially notes that वढ means मूढ vide सूदस्य नालिअवढौ iv. 422. Phonetically वत्स is nearer वढ and in प. प्र. सूढ is not a right meaning.

4 V. L. पंगुह—Weakening हो which is generalised by हेम. IV. 338.

5 हे जीव.

6 Better जाहि.

7 अस्वार्थ निश्चयो वक्ति व्यवहारो जयोदितम् ॥

दशमस्कन्धतर्कणा VIII. 23.

हउँ वरु बंभणु वइसु हउँ हउँ खत्तिउ हउँ सेसु
 पुरिसु णउंसउ इत्थि हउँ मण्णइ मूढु विसेसु ॥ ८२ ॥
 तरुणउ वुढउ रूवडउ^१ सुरउ पंडिउ दिवु
 खवणउ^२ वंदउ^३ सेवडउ^४ मूढउ मण्णइ सव्वु ॥ ८३ ॥

The tenor of his meditation is that it is silly to import distinctions in the real nature of the self :—

“अप्पा णिम्मलु णाणमउ”

The author makes a distinction between practical and the ideal and he aims to subordinate the practical to the ideal though he never ridicules the former. The author does not take merely spiritualistic flights in ideal realms but he knows the general run of the mass to whom also he has to say something :—

५ दाणु ण दिण्णउ मुणिवरहँ ण वि पुज्जिउ जिणणाहु ।
 ६ पंच ण वंदिय परमगुरु किमु होसइ सिवलाहु ॥ २९९ ॥

We are likely to feel that the author is sometimes self-conflicting but that conflict is only apparent as the statements are made sometimes from phenomenal and sometimes from noumenal points of view. Some verses from प. प्र. are of high ethical character : sometimes the illustrations are drawn from everyday life :—

मल्लाहँ वि णासंति गुण जहँ संसग्गु खलेहिं ।
 वइसाणरु लोहहँ मिलिउ ते पिट्ठियइ घणेहिं ॥ २३७ ॥
 रूवि पयंगा सद्धि मय गय फासइ णासंति ।
 अलिउल गंधइ मच्छ रसि किम अणुराउ करंति ॥ २४२ ॥
 १० तलि अहिरणि वरि घणवडणु संडस्य य लुंचोडु ।
 लोहह लग्गिवि हुयवहँ पिक्खु पडंतउ तोडु ॥ २४४ ॥
 जलसिंचणु पयणिद्वलणु पुणु पुणु पीलणडुक्खु ।
 णेहहँ लग्गिवि तिलणियरु जंति सहतउ पिक्खु ॥ २४६ ॥

1 V. L. रूवडउ.

2 Digambar.

3 Buddhist.

4 Śvetāmbara.

5 Also अरे जिय जिणवइभाचि करि (261).

6 These are अईत्तु सिद्ध आचार्य उपाध्याय and सर्वसाधु.

7 On the analogy of अ—ending nouns taking ज as the base

8 V. L. खलेण.

9 फासइ and गंवइ are locative Sing. as good as फासे गंवे.

10 This is a वृहान्त on लाभकषाय.

जे दिट्ठा सूरुग्गमणि ते अत्थवणि ण दिट्ठ !
ते^१ कारणि वढ धम्मु करि धणि जोव्वणि किमु^२ तिट्ठ ॥

The author puts beautifully the distinction between the individual and the Universal self—the quint-essence of Jaina Metaphysics :—

एहु जो अप्पा सो परमाप्पा
कम्मविसेसे^३ जायउ जप्पा ।
जामइ जाणइ अप्पे^३ अप्पा
तामइ सो जि देउ परमाप्पा ॥ ३०५ ॥

Proportionate to his high metaphysical reflections the author is modest :—

जं मइ किंपि वि जंपियउ जुत्ताजुत्तु^२ वि इत्थु ।
तं वरणाणि स्रमेत्तु महु जे बुज्झहिं परमत्थु ॥ ३०३ ॥

The philosophical tone of this work is the same as that of योगसार—even phrases and sentences are common in both the works. There is a short discourse on the Six substances that constitute the Universe according to Jaina philosophy. It is an independent section as it were, where the author gives the definitions &c. of various substances.

उद्व्वइ जाणहि ताईं छह तिहुयणु मरियउ जेहिं ।
आइविणासविज्जियहिं णाणिहि पभणियएहिं ॥ १२२ ॥
जीवु सचेयणु दव्वु मुणि, पंच अचेयण अण्ण ।
पुग्गलु धम्माधम्मु णहु कालें सहिया भिण्ण ॥ १२३ ॥
मुत्तिविहूणउ णाणमउ परमाणंदसहाउ
णियमिं जोइय अप्पु मुणि निच्चु निरेजणु भाउ ॥ १२४ ॥

1 तृष्णा.

2 V. L. वियत्थु (= व्यर्थ)

3 Jainism does not admit that this Universe is created by any supernatural sentient agency. The Universe is uncreated and eternal in its basic and constituent elements. To put the Jaina view point in brief, the whole range of existence can be divided into two sections, living and non-living (जीव and अजीव). Pure life is an impossibility in transmigratory state. This is possible only in Liberation where the soul is free from Karma (see note No 1 p. 140). अजीव is of five kinds i matter (पदार्थ) ii Principle or fulcrum of motion (धर्म) iii Principle or fulcrum of rest (अधर्म) iv space (आकाश) v Time (काल). It is essential to note that Space and Time are fundamental elements of the system of reality according to Jainism and not mere conceptions without any objective background.

¹पुग्गलु छव्विहु मुत्तु वढ इयर अमुत्तु वियाणि ।
 धम्माधम्मुवि गइठियहिं कारणु पभणहिं णाणि ॥ १४५ ॥
 दव्वइं सयलइं उवरि ठियइं णियमिं जासु वसंति ।
 ते णहु दव्वु वियाणि तुहुं जिणवरु एउ भणंति ॥ १४६ ॥
 कालु मुणिज्जहि दव्वु तुहुं वट्ठणलक्खणु एउ ।
 रयणहंरासि विभिण्ण जिम तसु अणुअहं तह भेउ ॥ १४७ ॥
 जीउ वि पुग्गलु कालु जिय ए मेहेविणु दव्व ।
 इयर असंड वियाणि तुहुं अण्णपयेसहिं सव्व ॥ १४८ ॥
 दव्व चयारिवि इयर जिय गमणागमणविहीण ।
 जीउ वि पुग्गलु परिहरिवि पभणहिं णाणिपवीण ॥ १४९ ॥
 धम्माधम्मुवि एक्कु जिउ ए जि असंखपएस ।
 गयणु अणंतपएसु मुणि बहुविह पुग्गलदेस ॥ १५० ॥
^२लोयायासु धरोवि जिय कहियइं दव्वइं जाइं ।
^३एक्कुहिं मिलियइं ^४इत्थु जागि सगुणहिं णिवसहिं ताइं ॥ १५१ ॥
 एयइं दव्वइं ^५देहियहं णियणियकज्जु जणंति ।
 चउगइदुक्ख ^६सहंति जिय ते संसारु भमंति ॥ १५२ ॥

In view of the importance of the above section as an introduction to Jaina philosophy and the succinct way in which it is worded, I have given below the English translation of it. The English translation of परमात्मप्रकाश by Mr. Jaina noted above is antiquated : it is more a transvocabulation than a translation. So I have given an independent translation utilising the English equivalents for Jaina technical terms as used by Prof. Chakravarti⁷, Mr. J. L. Jaini⁸ and Prof. Ghoshal.⁹

142. Know them to be six substances, that have no origination (beginning) and destruction and that have been described by the Omniscient and with which the three worlds are replete.

1 For six kinds of matter see पंचास्तिकाय ८२. S. B. J. P. 83

2 V. L. लोगाणह

3 V. L. ंक

4 V. L. एत्थ

5 V. L. हि

6 V. L. सहंत

7 His translation of पंचास्तिकाय (Sacred Books of the Jainas) Vol. III.

8 His translation of तत्त्वार्थसूत्र, गोमटसार and so on. (S.B. J. II and V)

9 His translation of द्रव्यसंग्रह (S. B. J. I)

143. Know the soul (जीव) to be a sentient substance and the other five insentient viz. Matter (पुद्गल); principle of motion (धर्म); principle of rest (अधर्म); space (आकाश)—all these accompanied by time (काल) are distinct from the soul.

144. Oh योगिन्! Know the soul to be a positive entity (भाव) necessarily noncorporeal, an embodiment of knowledge, characterised by supernormal bliss, eternal and taintless.

145. Matter (पुद्गल) in its six kinds is corporeal; my boy! know the rest to be incorporeal. The wise say that the 'principle of motion (धर्म) and that of rest (अधर्म) are the *Sine qua non* of the motion and rest respectively.

146. Know you that as the space substance, (आकाश) in which necessarily remain accommodated all substances—so say the great Jinās.

147. Know you time to be a substance which has the character of introducing changes in other things (वर्तन or which is characterised by continuity.) The instants of time are mutually isolated and different like Jewels in a heap.

148. Oh being! Know you that all other substances except soul, matter and time are indivisible wholes (or homogeneous wholes), with their space-points (प्रदेश).

149. The remaining four substances (धर्म, अधर्म, आकाश and काल) excepting soul and matter are void of movement—so say those advanced in knowledge (experts of knowledge.)

150. The principle of motion and that of rest are individually homogeneous wholes endowed with innumerable space points. Know the sky to be of infinite space-points; while matter is of many a dimension.

151. These substances, Oh being! are said to be confined to ² physical space. Though remaining together in this world they retain their (individual) qualities.

152. All these substances render their respective functions towards embodied beings who suffering the misery of fourfold existence wander in this transmigratory condition.

1 See the brilliant notes of Prof. Chakravarti on धर्म and अधर्म. S. B. J. vol. III. p. 95.

2 लोकाकाश

III श्रावकाचार दोहक

¹ श्रावकाचार दोहक is another अपभ्रंश work of our author. We have come across two Mss. of it—one in Delhi (पंचायती मंदिर) and the other in आग्रा (मोतीकदारा मंदिर). In the body of the work the name of the author is not mentioned. The Delhi Ms. does not mention anything about the author : while in the Ms. from Agra we find the author's name mentioned as जोगेंद्रदेव (जोगेंद्र ?) Pandita Jugalakishore has seen both these Mss. personally. Panditji remarks, 'The work is important as a piece of अपभ्रंश literature, moreover there are many fine similes and the ethical tone of the work is very healthy.' It has 224 दोहकs. It is some times referred to as नव (नौ) श्रावकाचार from the fact that its opening word is णवकार ² to wit:—

णवकारेष्णिणु पंचगुरु दूरदलियदुहकम्मु ।

संखेवे पयदक्खरहिं ³अक्खिय सावयधम्मु ॥ १ ॥

The treatment of the subject matter here is systematic as the author goes from one topic to another. The phraseology is more popular than technical. In his desire to make the work popular the author admits many side-topics and exhortations thereon. The श्रावकाचार ⁴ opens with a few introductory दोहकs. After that follow various topics which might be merely listed here; Eleven प्रतिमाs (the stages in the house-holder's life) ii सम्यग्दर्शन and its flaws; iii Eight मूलगुणs and the defects of other articles of food for bidden for a house-holder; iv a

1 I am very grateful to Pt. Jugalakishore the learned editor of अनेकान्त who supplied me with a transcript of this श्रावकाचार from his own copy which he had made after consulting Delhi & Agra Mss.

2 It is not in any way abnormal: many Jaina Stotras derive their names from their opening words, for instance, भक्तामरस्तोत्र, स्वयंभूस्तोत्र, कल्याण-मंदिरस्तोत्र, and so on.

3 आख्यातः श्रावकधर्मः

4 The Digambar literature is sufficiently rich in manuals on श्रावका-चार (giving rules about House-holder's life). In the Śvetambar canon as it exists today, the subject of श्रावकाचार is found in the seventh Āṅga—उपासदगसाओ. When once Digambaras disowned the canon as formed by the first Pataliputra Council as not genuine, there was no other alternative left for them than to write manuals on different subjects mainly based on traditional memory notes. The earliest manual on श्रावकाचार is by समंतभद्र (circa 2nd century A. D.) in संस्कृत—it is known as उपासकाध्ययन also. Some of the other manuals are :—वसुमंदि श्रावकाचार (in प्राकृत); अमितगति श्रावकाचार; सागर-धर्मावृत of आशाधर; पूज्यपाद उपासकाचार; धर्मसंग्रह श्रावकाचार of प. मेघावी and many others.

discourse on seven व्यसनस. v Fruit of Right Faith (सम्यग्दर्शन) which is the base for further vows (व्रतस). vi The twelve व्रतस of a श्रावक. vii A discourse on श्रावकधर्म (householder's life) viii A discourse on दान with its kinds and पात्रापात्रविचार. ix a discourse on धर्म and its glorification; x necessity of giving up sense-attachments and passions xi स्वाध्याय and glorification of तर्धिकरत्व xii पूजा of a तर्धिकर and the method of it. xiii Glorification of Right faith, meditation and पंचनमस्कार. xiv Human birth glorified and conclusion. As the work is not published as yet and as the subject is of popular interest treated in a simple manner I have given excerpts from it extensively.

अरहंतु वि दोसहिं रहिउ जासु वि केवलणाणु ।
 णाणमुणियकालत्तयहु¹ वयणु वि तस्स पमाणु ॥ ५ ॥
 तं पायडु जिणवरवयणु गुरुउवएसैं होइ ।
 अंधारइ विणु दीवइण अहव किं पिच्छइ कोइ² ॥ ६ ॥
 संजमु सीलु सउच्च तउ³ जसु सूरिहि⁴ गुरु सोइ ।
 दाह-छेय-कस-धायसुमु उत्तम कंचणु होइ ॥ ७ ॥
 मग्गइ गुरुउवएसियइं णर सिवपट्टणि जंति ।
 तिं विणु वग्गह वणयरहैं चोरहैं पीडि वि पडंति ॥ ८ ॥

* * * *

एयारहविहु तं कहिउ अरि जिय सावयधम्म ।
 सत्तिए परिपालंतयहैं सहलउ माणुसजम्मु ॥ ९ ॥
 पंजुंवरहैं णिवित्ति जसु वसणु ण एक्कु वि होइ ।
 सम्मत्ते सुविसुद्धमइ पढमउ सावउ सोइ ॥ १० ॥
 पंचाणुव्वय जो धरइ णिम्मल वय गुण तिण्णि ।
 असक्खावयइं चयारि जसु सो बीयउ माणि मण्णि ॥ ११ ॥
 चउरट्टहं (!) दोसहं रहिउ पुव्वाहरियकमेण ।
 जिणु वंदइ संसइं तिहुमि सो तिज्जउ जिय मण्णि ॥ १२ ॥
 उहयचउद्धसिअट्टमिहैं जो पालइ उववासु ।
 सो चउत्थु सावउ मण्णिउ दुक्कियकम्मविणासु ॥ १३ ॥
 पंचमु जसु कच्चासणहैं हरियहि णाहि पवित्ति ।
 मणवयकायहि⁵ छट्ठयहैं दिवसं णारिणिवित्ति ॥ १४ ॥

1 Not in Hem. but it appears to be a weakening of हो.

2 Ms. reads बोइ

3 शौच or स उच्चतउ

4 Hem. does not admit हि or हिं as Gen. Sg. termination : for all Mas. उ, हो and सु iv. 38.

5 This is a discourse on 11 प्रतिमास.

6 The 6th प्रतिमा according to श्रीसमंतभद्र is रात्रिभुक्तिविरति:

बंमयारि सत्तमु भणिउ अट्टमु चत्तारंमु ।
 मुक्कपरिग्गहु जाणि जिया णवमउ वज्जियडंमु ॥ १५ ॥
 अणुमइ देइ ण पुच्छियउ दंसमउ जिणउवड्ढु ।
 पयारहमउ त (ह ?) दुविहु ण उ भुंजइ उवड्ढु ॥ १६ ॥
 * * * *

मज्जु मंसु महु परिहरहि करि पंचुंवर दूरि ।
 आयहि अंतरि अट्टहिमि तस उप्पज्जइ भूरि ॥ २२ ॥
 महु आसाइय थोडउ वि णासइ पुण्ण बहुत्तु ।
 वैइसाणरहं तिडिक्कउ वि काण्णु डहइ महंतु ॥ २३ ॥
 सांगि मज्जमंसरयहं^१ मइलिज्जइ सम्मत्तु ।
 अंजणगिरिसंगि^२ ससिहिं किरणउ काला हुंति ॥ २८ ॥
 * * * *

दय जि मूल धम्मं पि वहु सो उप्पाडिउ जेण ।
 दलफलकुसुमइं कवण कहा आनिसु भक्खिउ तेण ॥ ४० ॥
 * * * *

जइ अहिलासु णिवारियउ ता वारियउ परयारु ।
 अह णाइक्के जित्तिइणा जित्तउ सयलु खंदारु ॥ ५१ ॥
 वसणाइं ताव^२ छंड जिया परिहर वसणासत्त ।
 सुक्कह संसग्गे हरिया पेक्खह तरू डज्जंति ॥ ५२ ॥
 * * * *

दंसणभूमिहिं बाहिरा जिय वयरुक्ख ण हुंति ।
 विणु वयरुक्खहं सुक्खफला आयसहो (?) ण पट्ठंति ॥ ५७ ॥
 * * * *

भोगहं करहि पमाणु जिय इंदिय म करि सदप्प ।
 हुंति ण भट्ठा पोसिया दुद्धे काला सप्प ॥ ६५ ॥
 दिसिविदिसिहिं^३ परिमाणु करि जियवहु जायइ जेण ।
 मोकलियहिं आसागयहिं संजमु पालिउ तेण^४ ॥ ६६ ॥
 * * * *

सण्णासेण मरतयहं लब्भइ इच्छियलाद्धि ।
 इच्छि^१ ण कायउ भंति करि जहिं साहसु तहिं सिद्धि ॥ ७८ ॥
 * * * *

1 मसि (V. L.)
 2 छंड (V. L.)
 3 सुक्कह (V. L.)
 4 The line not clear.

सावयधम्महं सयलहं दाणु पहाण सुवुत्तु ।
 तं दिज्जइ विणयेण सया बुज्झिवि पत्तु अपत्तु ॥ ७२ ॥
 उत्तिमपत्तु मुणिंद जगि मज्झिमु सावउ सिट्ठु ।
 १ अविरयसम्माइट्टिजणु पभणिउ पत्तु कणिट्ठु ॥ ७३ ॥
 पत्तहं जिणउवएसियहं तिहिमि देइ जु दाणु ।
 कट्ठाणाइं पंचइं लहिवि भुंजइ सोक्खणिहाणु ॥ ८० ॥
 दंसणरहियकुपत्ति जइ दिण्णउ ताहं कुभोउ ।
 खारधडइ अह णिवडियउ णीरु वि खारउ होइ ॥ ८१ ॥
 * * * * *
 काइं बहुत्तइं संपयइं जा किवणाहं घरि होइ ।
 मायरणीरु खारिं भरिउ पाणिउ पियइ ण कोइ ॥ ८९ ॥
 पत्तहं दिण्णउ थोअडउ वियरिय होइ बहुत्तु ।
 वडहं बीउ धरणिहिं पडियउ वित्थरु लेइ महंतु ॥ ९० ॥
 * * * * *
 जं जिय दिज्जइ इत्थ भवि तं लब्भइ परलोइ ।
 मूलें सिंचइ तरुवरहं फलुडालहं पुणि होइ ॥ ९५ ॥
 * * * * *
 धम्मे सुहु, पावेण दुहु एउ पसिद्धउ लोइ ।
 तम्हा धम्मु समायरहि जे हियइच्छिउ होइ ॥ १०१ ॥
 धम्मे जाण हवति णरा पावे जाण ण हुंति ।
 घरयर गेहुवणि चडहिं कूवखणा य तलि जांति ॥ १०२ ॥
 सत्थ सएण वियाणियइं धम्मु ण चरइ मुणेवि ।
 दिणयरसउ जइ उग्गमइ घूहहु अंधउ तो वि ॥ १०५ ॥
 * * * * *
 जो वयभायणु सो जि तणु किं कज्जइ इयरेण ।
 तं सिरु जं जिणमुणि णवइ रेहइ भत्तिभरेण ॥ ११६ ॥
 जे सुणांति धम्मकखरइं ते हउं मण्णमि कण्ण ।
 जे जोवहिं जिणवरहं मुट्ठु ते पर लोयण धण्ण ॥ ११८ ॥
 * * * * *
 घाणिंदिय वढ वसि करहि रक्खहु विसयकसाउ ।
 गंधह लंपडु सिलिमुहु वि ॥ १२५ ॥
 रूवहु उप्परि मइ म करि णयण णिवारहि जंत ।
 रूवासत्तपयंगडा पक्खहिं दीवि पडंत ॥ १२६ ॥
 * * * * *

मउयत्तणु जिय मणि धरहि माणु पणासइ जेण ।
अहवा तिमिरु ण ठाहरइ सूरहु गयाणि ठिएण ॥ १३२ ॥

* * * *

मणुयहँ विणयविवज्जियहँ गुण सयल वि णासंति ।
अह सरवर विणु पाणियइँ कमलइँ केम रहंति ॥ १३८ ॥
गुणवंतहँ सह संगु करि भल्लिम पावहि जेम ।
सवणसुपत्ताविवाज्जियउ वरु तरु वुच्चइ केम ॥ १४१ ॥

* * * *

जो जिणु ण्हायइ घयपयहिँ सूरहिँ ण्हाविज्जइ सोइ ।
सो पावइ जो जं करइ एहु पसिद्धउ लोइ ॥ १८१ ॥
गंधोएण जि जिणवरहं ण्हाविय पुण्णु बहुत्तु ।
तेलहे बिंदु विमलजलि को वारइ पसरंतु ॥ १८२ ॥
धूवउ खेवइ जिणवरहं तसु पसरइ सोहग्गु ।
इत्थुम कायउ भंति करि तिं पडिबद्धउ सग्गु ॥ १८८ ॥

* * * *

पुण्णु पाउ जसु मणि ण तसु दुत्तर भवसिंधु ।
कणयलोहाणियलइँ जियहँ किं ण कुणइ पयवंधु ॥ २११ ॥
१जाहँ हियइ असिआउसा पाउण दुक्कइ ताहँ ।
अहव दावाणलु किं करइ पाणियगिहरटियाहँ ॥ २१४ ॥

* * * *

दुल्लहु लहिवि मणुयत्ताणउ भोयहं पेरिउ जेण ।
इंधणकज्जे कण्पयरू मूलहो खंडिउ तेण ॥ २१५ ॥

* * * *

दंसणु णाणु चरित्त तउ गिसि गुरु जिणवर देउ ।
बोहसमाहिँ स हु मरणु भवि भवि हुज्जउ एउ ॥ २२४ ॥

I have been able to trace some eight quotations in श्रुतसागर's Commentary on षट्पाहुड ^२ from this श्रावकाचार. The numbers of these quotations in the Ms. before me are 148, 156, 111, 112, 109, 105, 139 and 110 alphabetically arranged. From these quotations it is quite plain that श्रुतसागर has used नवकारश्रावकाचार for his Commentary. Of these there are two quotations which raise altogether a new issue with regard to the authorship of नवकारश्रावकाचार which we might note below. श्रुतसागर commenting on भावपाहुड quotes :—

1 जहि (V. L.)

2 Published in माणिकचंद्र जैन ग्रंथमाला

तथा चोक्तं लक्ष्मीधरेण भगवताः—

अन्नाए दलिद्वियहं अरे जिय दुहु आवग्गु ।

लंक्खडियए विणु खोडयहे मग्गु सच्चिक्खलु दुग्गु ॥

—Now this is 148th दोहा from the श्रावकाचार.

Then again in the same commentary :—

तथा चोक्तं लक्ष्मीचिंद्रेण गुरुणा

वेचावच्चै विरहिउ वयणियरो वि डाइ ।

सुक्कसरहो किह हंसडलु जंतउ धरणह जाइ ॥

—this is 139 th दोहा of our श्रावकाचार. श्रुतसागर definitely ascribes the authorship of these two verses to लक्ष्मीधर or लक्ष्मीचंद्र and he uses quite familiar terms like गुरु, भगवान् as though लक्ष्मीधर is his immediate preceptor. We are led to doubt whether लक्ष्मीधर or लक्ष्मीचंद्र is the author of this श्रावकाचार or जोगेंद्र (दु) as the Agra Ms. says. The whole problem can be made clear when some more Mss. ¹ of नवकारश्रावकाचार are available. We do not find any striking phraseological similarities (excepting one or two which may be even accidental cf. 128 आ. with 266 of प. प्र.) but there are many common ideas. Compare आ. 122 &c. with 242 प. प्र.; 128 आ. with 266 प. प्र. and so forth. We have discussed below

1 In the Senagaṇa Mandira at Karanja there is a Ms. of a श्रावकाचार, which is ascribed in its Colophor to देवसेन. It is said to contain 250 अपभ्रंश दोहास. Rai Bahadur Hiralal has given opening and concluding extracts in his catalogue of Sk. and Prakrit Mss in C. P. and Berar. The ten opening verses that are given in the extract are the same as the first ten in our नौकार श्रावकाचार. The six concluding दोहास that are given in the catalogue are interesting. No. 5 is the same as the last of our copy of आ. The 6th mentions देवसेन as the author. Excepting No. 5 others are not present both in Delhi and Agra Mss. The 6 दोहास run thus :—(I have not attempted any correction here.)

जो जिणसासण भासियउ सो मह कहियउ सारु ।

जो पाले सइ भाउ करि तो तरि पावइ पारु ॥ १ ॥

एहु धम्म जो आयरइ चउवण्ह मह कोइ ।

सो गरु पारी भव्वयणु सरयइ पावइ सोइ ॥ २ ॥

काइ बहुछइ भंषि (भासि ?) यइ तालू खखइ जेण ।

यहु परमक्खरु वेरलइ कम्मखउ हुइ तेण ॥ ३ ॥

भव्वय लग्ग सुवयण सुग्गइ गच्छइ तेण ।

जह दिट्ठि वउ भव गयह कहियणु किब्बउ तेण ॥ ४ ॥

दसणणारिचिततउ रिसि खरु जिणवर देउ ।

बोहि समाहिण सहु मरणु भवि भवि दिज्जउ एहु ॥ ५ ॥

इय दोहाबद्ध वयधम्मं देवसेण उवादिह ।

लहु अक्खर मवाहीसमोपेय सयण खमंतु ॥ ६ ॥

This makes the problem of authorship all the more difficult. cf. with 95 of दो. प. quoted below.

how there are conspicuous phraseological similarities in his other works.

IV दोहापाहुड

Uptill now I have come across two Mss. of दोहापाहुड, one from my collection and the other from Delhi Jaina Mandira Ms. B. (my copy) so far as I can judge, is at least two hundred years old. It is a part of a small गुटिका (देवनागरी characters) written in black and red ink. It is fairly accurate but for a few scribal mistakes. The pitiable tale about this Ms. is that portions of it are hopelessly rubbed away and with a good deal of difficulty I could copy out some verses.¹ It has an explicit colophon :

इति श्री योगेंद्रदेवविरचित दोहापाहुडं नाम ग्रंथं समाप्त

I am very grateful to Pt. Jugalakishore through whose kind favour I got a transcript of the Delhi Ms. (D.). So far as I can judge from the transcript before me Ms. B appears to be more correct than Ms. D. The Ms. D. has the colophon ;

इति श्री मुनिरामसिंहविरचित पाहुडदोहा समाप्त.

Both the Mss. have 220 verses some of which are not in दोहा metre. There are some variations in numberings and readings. Peculiarly enough there are three Sk. verses almost at the end of the book and these are common to both the Mss. They are as below :

कायास्तित्वार्थमाहारं कायाज्ज्ञानं समीहते ॥
ज्ञानं कर्मविनाशाय तन्नाशे परमं पदं² ॥ २१६ ॥
मुखनासिकयोर्मध्ये प्राणान्संच्यवते सदा ॥
आकाशे चरते नित्यं स जीवो (!) तेन जीवति³ ॥ २१९ ॥
आपदा मूर्च्छितो वारि-चुलुकेनापि जीवति ॥
अम्भःकुम्भसहस्राणां गतजीवः करोति किं ॥ २२० ॥

The colophons are not in agreement as to the authorship of दोहापाहुड. There is an internal reference in verse No. 209 where रामसिंह is mentioned.

अणुपेहा बारह वि जिया भाविवि एकमणेण ।
रामसीहु मुणि इम भणई सिवपुर पावहि जेण ॥ २०९ ॥

1 See my article ' योगेंद्र देवका एक और अपभ्रंश ग्रंथ ' in अनेकांत vol. I and the editorial note thereon.

2 Quoted by Jayasena in his Commentary on प्रवचनसार.

3 प्राणानां संचरते सदा (V: L.)

4 The verse No. 219 is not clear as it stands.

Nothing can be categorically said about the authorship until some better Mss. come forth. The presence of three Sk. verses, the mention of रामसिंह not at the end of the work,¹ the close similarity of phraseology between परमात्मप्रकाश and दोहापाहुड, the conflicting colophons—these facts have rendered the problem all the more difficult. Can it not be that रामसिंह is only a traditional name like that of शान्ति incidentally mentioned in परमात्मप्रकाश?²

देवहँ सत्थहँ मुणिवरह भत्ति ए पुणु हवेइ ।

कम्मवत्तउ पुणु होइ ण वि अज्जउ संति भणेइ ॥ १८८ ॥

The textual comparison between दोहापाहुड and other works of जोइंदु is very interesting. Many verses are common verbatim between दोहापाहुड and परमात्मप्रकाश. Herewith a few verses numbers from दो० with प० numbers in bracket are given. दो. 2 (प. 285); 3 (118); 8 (252); 11 (254); 12 (275); 13 (258); 14 (294); 17 (269); 18 (279); 23 (प. 66); 26 (81); 28 (90); 29 (93); 33 (72); 34 (71); 35 (70); 37 (75); 49 (125); 69 (97); 94 (288); 104 (257); 137 (187); 146 (237); 190 (291); and so forth. Besides these there are many phrases and parts of दोहास that are bodily repeated, sometimes with slight variations. Some verses from योगसार are also seen in दोहापाहुड (cf. 40 योगसार with 79 of दो. पा.). There are many common phrases. No. 19 of दोहापाहुड (see the extracts below) has been quoted by श्रुतसागर in his commentary on षट्पाहुड.³

The contents⁴ of दोहापाहुड are of meditational nature where the author differentiates between the body and the soul, the material paraphernalia and the sentient self and finally reflects on the essential characteristics of the self, from the realistic (निश्चय) point of view.

Since the work is not published we might give a few दोहास here.

गुरु दिग्यरु गुरु हिमकिरणु गुरु दीवउ गुरु देउ ।

अप्पहँ परहँ परंपरहँ जो दरिसावइ भेउ ॥ १ ॥

अमुजंतउ विसयसुहु⁵ जे ण वि हियइ धरंति ।

ने सासयसुहु लहु लहहि जिणवरु एम भणंति ॥ ४ ॥

1 The name occurs in दोहा 209 while the work has 220 verses.

2 जोइंदु is the author of परमात्मप्रकाश and there is not the least doubt about it.

3 p. 259 (मा. ग्र. मा.)

4 The subject matter being similar to that of योगसार I have not given the extensive summary here. See the summary of योगसार above.

5 D आमुजंता विसयसुहा (V. L.)

ण वि भुंजता विसयसुहा हियडइ भाउ धरंति ।
 सालिसिन्धु ¹ जिम वण्णुडउ ² णर णरयहँ णिवडंलति ॥ ५ ॥
 जो मुणि छंडवि विसयसुहा पुणु अहिलासु करेइ ।
 लुंचणु सोसणु सो सहइ पुणु संसारु भमेइ ॥ १६ ॥
 अथिरेण थिरा मइलेण णिम्मला णिग्गुणेण गुणसाग ।
 काएण जा विढप्पइ ³ सा किरिया किण्ण कायवा ॥ १९ ॥
 वरु विसु विसहरु वरु जलणु वरु सेविउ वणवासु ।
 ण ⁴ उ जिणधम्मपरम्मुहउ मिच्छत्तियसहवासु ॥ २० ॥
 जसु मणि णाणु ण विप्फुइ कम्महँ हेउ करंतु ।
 सो मुणि पावइ सुक्खु ण वि सलयइ सत्थ मुणंतु ॥ २१ ॥
 अप्पा केवलणाणउ हियडइ णिवसइ जासु ।
 निहुयणि अत्थइ ⁵ मोक्कलउ पाउ ण लग्गइ तासु ॥ ५५ ॥
 अप्पा दंसणाणमउ सयलु वि अण्ण पयालु ।
 इम ⁶ जाणेविणु जोइयहो छंडहु मायाजालु ॥ ६८ ॥
 चट्ठयइ पडियइ मूढपरा ⁷ तालु सुक्कइ जेण ।
 एक्कु ाजि अक्खरु तं पढहु सिवपुरि गम्मइ जेण ॥ ९५ ॥
 जीववहंतहँ णरयगइ अभयपदाणें सग्गु ।
 बे पढ ⁸ जवला दरिसियइ जहि भावइ तहि लग्गु ॥ १०४ ॥
 तोडिवि सयलवियप्पडा अप्पहं मणु वि धरेहि ।
 मुक्खु णिरंतरु तहिं लहहि लहु संसारु तरेहि ॥ १३२ ॥
 मुंडिय मुंडिय मुंडिया सिरु मुंडिउ चित्त ण मुंडिउ ।
 चित्तहँ मुंडणु जं कियउ संसारह खंडणु तें कियउ ॥ १३४ ॥
 तित्थहि तित्थ भमेहि वढ धोयउ चम्मु जलेण ।
 एहु मणु किमु धोएसि तुहँ मइलउ पावमलेण ॥ १६१ ॥
 अप्पा परहं ण मेलयउ आवागमणु (?) ण भग्गु ।
 तुस कंडतहँ कालु गउ तंदुलु हत्थि ण लग्गु ॥ १८३ ॥

1 For the reference of शालिसिन्धु in this दोहा, see भावपाहुड 86 and अतसागर's Commentary thereon (मा. ग्र. मा.).

2 B वापुडा.

3 ✓ अर्ज.

4 Ms. B. is not uniform with respects to the use of न or ण. Ms. D. has invariably ण which I have adopted here.

5 Cf. मोक्कळा Marathi

6 Cf. योगसार ६१

7 Compare this with दोहा 3 in the foot note No. 1 on p. 154.

8 Cf. जवळ Marathi.

इंदियविसय चएवि वढ करि मोहह परिचाउ ।
 अणुदिणु शायहि परमपउ तो एहउ ववसाउ ॥ २०० ॥
 मंतु ण तंतु ण धेउ ण धारणु
 ण वि उच्छासह किज्जइ कारणु ।
 एमइ परमसुक्खु मुणि ¹ सुव्वइ
 एहि गल गल कासु ण णच्चइ ॥ २०१ ॥
 तउ करि दहविहु धम्मु करि जिणभासिउ सुपसिदु ।
 कम्महँ जिज्जर एह जिया फुडु अस्सिउ मइ तुज्जु ॥ २०६ ॥
 सुणं ण होइ सुणं दीसइ सुणं च तिहुयणे सुणं ।
 अवहरइ पावपुणं सुणसहावेँ गडे अप्पा ॥ २१० ॥
 वादविवादा जे करहिँ जाहि ण किट्ठइ भंति ॥
² जेरत्तागउ (?) पाविचइ ते गुप्पंत भवति ॥ २१५ ॥

The peculiar stylistic feature of जोईदु's works is that there are many common phrases and metrical feet in his different works : why ? there are conspicuous repetitions in one and the same work. There is no doubt as to the fact that जोईदु is the author of प. प्र. and योगसार: the position as to the authorship of दोहा-पाहुड we have noted above. Stylistic and phraseological evidence backed up by the colophon of one Ms. proves that जोईदु is the author ³ and in that case the name of रामसीहु mentioned in one verse—not at the end—will have to be explained otherwise. My conjecture is that it might be only a name of a traditional authority like that of आर्यशांति ⁴ mentioned in प. प्र. With this incidental reference to रामसीहु the scribes might have added the colophon to that effect. However we must wait for some more Mss. This repetitionary style has not escaped the notice of commentators. जयसेन says, “अथवा भावनाग्रन्थे ⁵समाधिश्चतकपरमात्मप्रकाशादिग्रन्थवद्वागिणां श्रृङ्गारकथावत् पुनरुक्तदोषो नास्ति।” Similarly ब्रह्मदेव remarks, “अत्र भावनाग्रन्थे समाधिश्चतकादिवत् पुनरुक्तदृष्टं नास्ति इति । तदपि कस्मादिति चेत् । अर्थं पुनःपुनश्चि-

1 सुव्वइ (V. L.)

2 D. जेरत्तागउ

3 If जोईदु is not the author of दोहापाहुड, we cannot conveniently explain away the presence of common verses and phrases without charging रामसीहु of plagiarism—! Or रामसीहु was too much steeped in जोईदु's works and he spontaneously reproduced much from them.

4 Quoted above.

5 It is a very interesting work composed by पूज्यपाद the author of जनेन्द्रव्याकरण. आशाधर has written a Sk. commentary on that. (मा. घ मा.)

न्तनलक्षणमिति वचनात् । ” जोइंदु himself is aware of this repetition when he says:—

इत्थु ण लिब्बउ पंडिचहिं, गुणदोसु वि पुणरुत्तु ।
भट्टपभायरकारणइं मइ पुणु पुणु वि पउत्तु ॥ ३२२ ॥

Thus he explains his position which is defended by commentators too.

In प. प्र. itself we find many repetitions—a few might be listed here अप्पा मिळिवि पाणमउ (205, 289); उत्तममुक्खु ण देइ जइ (131, 133); केवलदंसणणाणमउ (6, 24, 224, 328); घोह करंतु वि तवयरणु (298, 322 with slight variation); जोइय मोहु or लोहु परिचयहि (238, 243); जो ण वि मण्णइ जीउ ससु (183, 232); जो भत्तउ रयणत्तयहं (152, 222); ते पुणु वंदउ सिद्धरण (4, 5,); दव्वइं जाणइं जह ठियइं (141, 142); दुक्खह कारणु मुणिवि (153, 284); देहि वसंतुवि (42, 34). Besides these there are many set phrases such as सो परमपु होइ, जिणवर एम भणेइ, लहु णिव्वाणु लहंति, पुणु ण पाउ ण जाहं. The list may be made more exhaustive.

Similarly in योगसार, अप्पा अप्पइ जो सुणइ (34, 12); जो णिम्मल अप्पा मणह (30, 37); जो परियाणइ अप्प पर (8, 81); देहादिउ जे पर कहिया (10, 11); रायरोस बे परिहरवि (47, 99); संसारह भयभीयहं (3, 107); मोक्खह कारण जोइया; अप्पु ण तंतु ण मंतु (74, 83) and so forth.

Similarly in दोहापाहुड, तित्थइ तित्थ भमंतहं (160–61, 312); अप्पा दंसणु &c. (68, 69) अप्पा मिळिवि जगतिलउ (70, 71). Instances may be multiplied.

Now to have a mutual comparison of the works of जोइंदु, we find striking repetitions in प. योगसार and दोहापाहुड. It is already noted how there are many common verses between प. and दोहापाहुड. We might note here only a few parallel phrases between योगसार and प. प्र. There are some common lines: यो. 4 (प. 274); यो. 50 (प. 280); यो. 5 (प. 251) यो. 47 and 97 (प. 227.); यो. 52 (प. 210) Thus there are common verses and phrases between प. प्र. and योगसार on the one hand and दोहापाहुड on the other.

It is generally believed that the name of the author in its Sk. form is योगीन्द्र a fact which is well attested by the following points. जयसेन quoting a verse from प० says, “तथा योगीन्द्रदेवैरप्युक्तम् ”; श्रुतसागर at the beginning of a quotation from the same work says,

“उक्तं च योगीन्द्रदेवनाम्ना भट्टारकेण.”¹ ब्रह्मदेव, on more than one occasion, has used the Sanskrit form योगीन्द्र in his commentary. Sometimes the copyists hesitate between योगीन्द्र and योगेन्द्र. But one hesitates to accept योगीन्द्र as the Sk. form of our author's name in view of the following considerations. From the phraseological and idealogical comparison of प. प्र. and योगसार it is plain that the author is one and the same, as we have seen above. At the end of योगसार the name of the author is mentioned as जोगिचंद्र which cannot be equated with Sk. योगीन्द्र. Then were these two different authors and one copied the other's work? Certainly not. Turning to the text of परमात्मप्रकाश the name of the author is mentioned in this manner. :—सिरिजोइंदुजिणउ. In view of the rules of अपभ्रंश grammar the Sk. form of it would be श्री योगीन्दुजिनः or श्री योगीन्द्रजिनः—Since इन्द्र² and इन्दु have the same अप⁰ form इंदु. The Sk. rendering योगीन्द्र is not guaranteed when we have already accepted the mono authorship of प. प्र. and योगसार. If we accept the Sk. equivalent योगीन्दु everything becomes consistent as it is equal to योगिचन्द्र as mentioned in योगसार. There are many instances of the interchange of इन्दु and चन्द्र in personal names for instance, कुमुदेन्दु and कुमुदचन्द्र; भगिन्दु and भगवचन्द्र; शुभेन्दु and शुभवचन्द्र. So our author's name in Sk. is योगीन्दु and not योगीन्द्र. The mistake once made has been mechanically adopted by all.³

Date of जोगिंदु

(i) ब्रह्मदेव has written a Sanskrit commentary on परमात्मप्रकाश and by a close comparison of the two commentaries it appears that he is the same ब्रह्मदेव who has written a commentary on द्रव्य-संग्रह.⁴ Though his date is not definite, still this much is certain

1 Still we are in the dark as to the personal history of जोगिंदु, his spiritual genealogy &c. His being called a भट्टारक is of no historic value as the reference is a comparatively modern one and as the word भट्टारक has its connotation quite mobile. It means a तर्किकर and also a Bachelor using coloured robes (as our modern भट्टारकः.) इन्द्रनाथ in his नीतिसार define भट्टारक in this way,

सर्वशास्त्रकलामिश्रो नानागच्छाभिवर्धकः ।

महामताः प्रभाभावी भट्टारक इतीष्यते ॥ १८ ॥

2 See प. प्र. 118 and दोहापाण्ड 3.

3 The editor of योगसार could not conciliate the two names and hence he says in a note on योगसार, ‘अन्त्यदोहकेन योगिचन्द्रेति नामास्ति. It is a strange combination indeed when the editor writes योगीन्द्र-चन्द्राचार्यकृतः योगसारः—As noted above the text of प. प्र. mentions the name in अप. as जोगिन्दु and not योगीन्द्र as this editor says.

4 Published in रायचंद्र जैनशास्त्रमाला.

that he lived later than जयसेन from whose commentaries he appears to have drawn sufficient inspiration and material, the last almost verbatim.¹ Pandita Javaharlal says that ब्रह्मदेव was later than श्रुतसागर too. However he lived before 1556 A. D.² when शुभचन्द्र composed his commentary³ on कार्तिकेयानुप्रेक्षा in which many passages from ब्रह्मदेव's commentary on द्रव्यसंग्रह have been quoted.⁴ So जोइंदु on whose परमात्मप्रकाश ब्रह्मदेव writes a commentary must be earlier than 15th century A. D.

(ii) श्रुतसागर, whom Peterson calls a 'fierce Digambar',⁵ in his commentary on six पाहुड (प्राभृत) of कुन्दकुन्द quotes some अपभ्रंश verses three of which have been traced to परमात्मप्रकाश. These three verses are i जसुहरिणच्छी हियवडइ etc (p. 39. वंदप्राभृतटीका)⁶ ii जा निसि सयलह &c. (p. 325 Ibid) and iii जं मुणि लहइ (p. 332. Ibid). The respective numbers of these three verses in परमात्मप्रकाश⁷ are 122, 173 and 118. It is worth noting that the verse जसु हरिणच्छी has been quoted with an explicit introductory phrase उक्तं च योगीन्द्रदेवनाम्ना भट्टारकेण. श्रुतसागर's date is not difficult to be settled.⁸ He has severely criticised various Jaina subsects other than his own. His attack on the लौक sect proves that he lived later than 1470 A. D. about which year the लौक sect was promulgated in Gujarata.⁹ श्रुतसागर lived about the beginning

1 For instance Cf. (i) p. 170 प. प्र. with p. 219 of पंचास्तिकाय.

(ii) p. 152 प. प्र. with page 49 of पंचास्तिकाय.

—The references are to the editions of परमात्मप्रकाश टीका & पंचास्तिकायटीका printed in रायचंद जैनशास्त्रमाला.

2 See. Report for 1883-84 by Dr. Bhandarkar.

3 Not published as yet.

4 Pt. Javaharlal in his Introduction to द्रव्यसंग्रह.

5 See. Peterson Reports.

6 Published in माणिकचंद जैनग्रंथमाला.

7 The रा. ग. मा. edition.

8 Sufficient information about श्रुतसागर and his works is given by Pt. Premi in the Introduction to वंदप्राभृतटीका (above).

9 श्वेत विक्रमभूषाले सप्तविंशतिसंयुते

दशपञ्चशतैः शब्दानामतीते श्रुणुतापरम् ॥

लुकाभतमभूदेकं लोपकं धर्मकर्मणः

देशेऽत्र गौर्जरे ख्याते विद्वत्ताजितनिर्जरे ॥ १ ॥

अणाहिलिपत्तने रस्ये प्राग्वाटकुलजोऽभवत्

लुङ्काभिदो महामानी श्वेताशुकमताश्रयी ॥

दुष्टात्मा दुष्टभावेन कुपितः पापमाण्डितः

तीव्रमिथ्यात्वपाकेन लुङ्काभतमकल्पयत् ॥ २ ॥

—भद्रबाहुचरित

of the 16th century,—जोइंदु who is quoted by him must have been prior to him.

(iii) जयसेन who has written Sk. commentaries on पंचास्तिकाय, प्रवचनसार and समयसार is well acquainted with the works of जोइंदु. In his commentary on समयसार he definitely mentions the name of परमात्मप्रकाशः—

अथवा भावनाग्रन्थे समाधिशतक-परमात्मप्रकाशादिग्रन्थवद्वागिणां शृङ्गारकथावत् पुनरुक्तदोषो नास्ति (p. 114 रा. ग्र. मा. Edition). Further at p. 424 in the same commentary a verse is quoted :—

तथा योगीन्द्रदेवैरप्युक्तं—

ण वि उप्पज्जइ¹ ण वि मरइ बंध ण मोक्खु करेइ ।

जिउ परमत्थे² जोइया जिणवर एउ भणेइ ॥

This is No. 69 from परमात्मप्रकाश. Further in his commentary on verse 27 of पंचास्तिकाय he quotes an अपभ्रंश verse which is so badly printed in रायचंद्र ग्रंथमाला edition as below “ रयणदिवदिणयरुदांझि उडुदा-उपासणुसुणरुप्पफलिहउअगणिगवदिहंताजाणु ” As the quotation stands it is full of corruptions and it has not even the appearance of a दोहा. But however, the verse is the same but for its corruptions as the following one from योगसार :—

रयण दीउ दिणयर दहिउ दूध घीउ पाहाणु ॥

सुण्ण रूउ फलिउअ अगिणि णव दिहंता जाणु ॥ ५६ ॥

So जयसेन knows both these works of जोइंदु.

As to the exact date of जयसेन we are not on a stable ground. He is later than नेमिचंद्र सिद्धान्तचक्रवर्तिन् and वीरनंदी. He quotes a couple of verses from the आचारसार of वीरनंदी in his commentary on पंचास्तिकाय (p. 8 रा. ग्र. मा. edition). This वीरनंदी, the disciple of मेघचंद्र² appears to have composed आचारसार in the first quarter of the 12th Century. By a close comparison of बाळचंद्रदेव's³ Kanarese commentaries with those of जयसेन it appears that जयसेन is earlier than बाळचंद्र whose date, according to R. B. Narasinhācārya,⁴ is circa 1170 A. D. जयसेन thus being later than वीरनंदी and earlier than बाळचंद्र must have lived somewhere in the middle of the 12th century. Pt. Premi⁵ says that there has been found a Ms. of जयसेन's पंचास्तिकायवृत्ति written in 1369 V. era

1 It is printed as उप्पज्जइ. (V. L)

2 See the Introduction to आचारसार (मा. ग्र. मा.)

3 Not published as yet.

4 See कर्णाटककविचरिते Vol. I.

5 In an introduction to XXI. Vol. of मा. ग्र. मा.

(1312 A. D.). If जयसेन lived in the middle of 12th century A. D जोईंद्र whose two works जयसेन knows must be earlier than he. गुणवर्म II a Kanarese poet mentions the name of योगींद्र in his पुष्प-दंत's पुराण. गुणवर्म's date is c. 1235. (See कर्नाटककविचरिते Vol. I p. 358 foot-note).

(iv) हेमचन्द्र, the versatile encyclopaedic writer, is the first Prakrit grammarian to treat the अपभ्रंश dialect in an exhaustive manner. He has, in all his works, availed himself of the work done by his predecessors. It is no wonder then if he has consulted the then available अपभ्रंश material for the ground work of the अपभ्रंश portion of his Grammar. The अपभ्रंश section is important not only for its exhaustive treatment but because the author has given so many quotations and most of them, naturally, might have been drawn from the then existing अप. literature. Being himself a grammarian, par excellence, it is just imaginable that he might improve upon the readings of the version which he is quoting and moreover to suit the illustrative purpose he might make changes here and there. We may note the following quotations as they are chronologically important. Under Sūtra iv 389. Hem. quotes,

संता भोग जु परिहरइ तसु कंतहो बालि कीसु ।
तसु दइवेण वि मुंडियउँ जसु खडिहडउँ सीसु ॥

This quotation is found to be an intelligent improvement on the following दोहा taken over from परमात्मप्रकाश.

संता विसय जु परिहरइ बालि किज्जउ हउँ तासु ।
सो दइवेण जि मुंडियउ सीसु खडिहउ जासु ॥ २७० ॥

The change of the verbal form from किज्जउ to कीसु is quite intelligible if we look to the Sūtra and his Commentary thereon.

क्रियेः कीसु ॥ ३८९ ॥

क्रिये इत्येतस्य क्रियापदस्यापभ्रंशे कीसु इत्यादेशो वा भवति । and so forth. Further हेम° admits किज्जउ as an optional form and gives an illustration बालि किज्जउ सुअणस्सु which also appears to have been suggested from the above quoted दोहा.

Then under iv 427 हेम° quotes the following verse :—

जिभिंदिउ नायगु वसि करहु जसु अविन्नई अन्नई ॥
मूलि विणट्टइ तुंभिणिहे अवसे सुकई पणई ॥

In spite of striking variations the दोहा is based on the one in परमात्मप्रकाश. The V. L. सुकहि° for सुकई (Bombay Sk. series edition of प्राकृतव्याकरण) is important. The दोहा runs thus in प. प्रकाश :—

पंचहं पायकु वसि करहु जेण होंति वसि अण्ण ।

मूल विणट्ठइ तरुवरहं अवसइ सुक्कहिं पण्ण ॥ २७१ ॥

The consecutive numbers of these two दोहा in प. प्र.—if at all any inference is possible therefrom—point to the fact that हेमचन्द्र might have drawn these quotations directly from परमात्मप्रकाश.

Then under ii 80 a short sentence बोद्धह-द्रहम्मि पडिया is quoted and this we find to be a regular part of the following दोहा of प. प्रकाश.

ते चिय धण्णा ते चिय सप्पुरिसा ते जियंतु जियलोए ।

बोद्धहद्रहम्मि पडिया तरंति जे चेव लीलाए¹ ॥ २४७ ॥

The formal change in the quoted part will be understood when we look to the grammarian's remark :—

बोद्धहादयस्तु तरुणपुरुषादिवाचका नित्यं रेफसंयुक्ता देश्या एव ।²

Hemacandra's date is fixed. He has composed his grammar in the reign of सिद्धराज i. e. decidedly before 1142 A. D. when कुमारपाल the successor of सिद्धराज was anointed as king. Looking to the fact that other accessories of his grammar, for instance, the न्यास and lexicons were composed in सिद्धराज's reign it appears that हेमचन्द्र might have completed his grammar in eight chapters³ sufficiently long before the above date. In 1105 A. D. (1162 Vikrama era), हेमचन्द्र was made a सूरि. Soon after this date he must have composed this grammar.

It is not an unusual phenomenon in the history of any language that exhaustive grammars come to be composed only after a particular language is fossilised in literary form either in traditional memory or in books. So there is no sufficient justification in the assumption that the अपभ्रंश stage treated by हेमचन्द्र is the same as the current language of his times. It is more reasonable to say that the अपभ्रंश stage as represented by his grammar was altogether fossilised in literary form and it must have been at least the next previous—or even earlier—stage of the language current in his times. Grammars cannot be based on merely

1 However there are grave doubts as to the genuineness of this verse in परमात्मप्रकाश. The first thing is that it is not in अपभ्रंश, secondly the word उक्कं च is added to it in the printed edition. The commentator, it appears, admits it, so also the Ms. B. Probably it is a quotation drawn by जेइहु himself from some early work.

2 See the introduction to मोहराजपराजय (G. O. S.)

3 The first seven dealing with Sk. and the last with Prakrits.

spoken languages : at the most we can appeal to this or that usage in the current language with such phrases as लोके. हेमचन्द्र's quotations show that he had before him a sufficiently long tract of अपभ्रंश literature extending over a period of time sufficiently prior to him. ¹

From the facts noted above it is plain that हेमचन्द्र has used परमात्मप्रकाश for his grammar of the अपभ्रंश dialect, and thus जोइंदु must have lived at least a couple of centuries before हेमचन्द्र's composition of his grammar² looking to the conditions of communication &c of that period.

(v) चण्ड in his प्राकृतलक्षण,³ on the Sūtra, 'यथा तथा अनयोः स्थाने जिमितिमौ' quotes the following Dohā:—

कालु लहेविणु जोइया जिम जिम मोहु गलेइ ।
तिम तिम दंसणु लहइ जो णियमें अप्प मुणेइ ॥

This दोहा is the same as the one in परमात्मप्रकाश No. 86 with the difference that प. प्र. reads जिमु जिमु and तिसु तिसु; and जिउ in place of जो in the second line. So it is imaginable that चंड might have drawn this quotation from प. प्र.

But the genuineness of this quotation has been questioned by Hoernle and following him by Mr. Bhattacharya⁴ in their editions of प्राकृतलक्षण. Some sūtras, of which the above also is one, even against the agreement of two or three Mss., have been relegated to the appendix by Hoernle suggesting thereby the spurious nature of these sūtras. This editorial discretion of Hoernle has been questioned by Scholars like Pischel and Gune. Dr. Gune has examined the whole position and he says, " Nos (7) (8) and (11) ⁵ (the sūtra under discussion) are quite in Candā's manner and since two Mss. ⁶ attest them, they may

1 " Roughly between 6th-10th centuries A. D. the literary Prakrits became more and more stereotyped and kept up their remote connection with the Deśī element through Apabhraṃśa disintegration. The latter in its turn came to be standardised and bore the same relation to the new Deśī or spoken side out of which finally emerged the modern vernaculars. This standardised or literary Apabhraṃśa was the basis of Hemacandra "—see Evolution of Māgadhi, by Dr. Sastri § 18

2. Which took place soon after 1105 A. D.

3 Edited by Hoernle B. I.

4 Who quotes the section in a footnote.

5 No 11 is the sūtra with the अप्प quotation given above.

6 a देवनागरी Ms. in my possession admits the sūtra and the quotation regularly.

be regarded genuine.....But most important Apabh. Sutra is No. (11) which lays down 'जिम and तिम' as substitutes of यथा and तथा and gives an Apabh. Dohā as illustration." ¹ Thus Dr. Gune accepts the quotation as genuine in चण्ड's grammar.

Quite different views are held as to the date of चण्ड. Hoernle claims that चण्ड's grammar presents a very old phase of the Prakrit language and that चण्ड is prior even to बरहृचि and that he must have written his grammar at a somewhat later time than the 3rd century B. C. Dr. Gune ² says that the conclusions arrived at by Hoernle are based on the readings of a single Ms. as against the three used by him that speak to the contrary. "The whole work" ³ remarks Dr. Gune, "has the appearance of half arranged miscellaneous jottings for a work, rather than a well-arranged and finished treatise." "चण्ड evidently lived at a time when the अपभ्रंश had ceased to be a mere dialect of the आभीर's and become a literary language, i. e. after the sixth century A. D. and not before."

Thus if we accept the sūtra and the quotation as genuine along with Dr. Gune then परमात्मप्रकाश must be a work composed prior to चण्ड i. e. prior to the 6th century A.D. So जोहंदु must have lived before 6th century A. D. To conclude this discussion on जोहंदु's date, it must be said that the data are supplied mainly from his परमात्मप्रकाश and only once from योगसार.

I cannot conclude this article without expressing my heartfelt thanks to my revered Professor Dr. P. L. Vaidya, M. A., D. Litt. at whose worthy hands I have been initiated in the study of अप. literature and to Pt. Jugalakishore through whose kindness I got two transcripts from Delhi.

Appendix

One Sk. work namely अमृताशीति ⁴ has come to light and it is indicated in its last verse that it is composed by one योगीन्द्र. It contains 82 verses in different metres, groups of verses being devoted to different topics of Jainism. There is no sufficient evidence to say that this योगीन्द्र is the same as जोहंदु the author of प. प्र. अमृताशीति has some verses common with the शतक of भर्तृहरि. ⁵

1 His introduction to भविस्यत्तकहा (G. O. S.)

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

4 published in मा. प्र. मा Vol. XXI

5 See Pt. Premi's Introduction to मा. प्र. मा. XXI.

and there is an explicit quotation from विद्यानन्द. Two verses from अमृताशीति (Nos. 57 and 59.) are quoted by पद्मप्रभमल्लवारिदेव in his तात्पर्यवृत्ति or नियमसार (pp. 38 and 107). The same वृत्ति quotes as below :—

तथा चोक्तं श्रीयोगीन्द्रेदैवः । तथा हि
मुक्कयङ्गनालिमपुनर्भवसौख्यमूलं
दुर्भावनातिमिरसंहतिचन्द्रकीर्तिम् ।
संभावयामि समतामहमुच्चकैस्तां ।
या समता भवति संयमिनामजस्रम् *॥

This quotation is not found in the printed text of अमृताशीति and Pt. Premi conjectures that it might be from अध्यात्मसंदोह another work traditionally ascribed to योगीन्द्र, which is not found anywhere as yet.

* P. 86 नियमसार (Bombay Edition.)

SOME ADDITIONAL NOTES ON FOREIGN ELEMENTS IN THE HINDU POPULATION

BY

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH

In the Indian Antiquary of 1911, Professor D. R. Bhandarkar published an article on "Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population". Therein he has tried to show with convincing proofs that 'there is hardly a class or caste in India, which has not a foreign strain in it. There is an admixture of alien blood not, only among the warrior classes...the Rājapūts and the *Mārāthās* but also among the Brāhmaṇas, who are under the happy delusion that they are perfectly free from all foreign element'. And in conclusion he has 'sincerely hoped that the knowledge furnished by ethnology and the study of ancient inscriptions will spread among the people, and open their eyes to the emptiness and worthlessness of the thing they are fighting for, and put an end to all caste animosities and disputes, which are the bane of India'.

We shall try to give here some additional facts in support of his theory.

Professor Bhandarkar has shown by reference to the Manu and Yājñavalkya Smṛtis how in the Kaliyuga a Niṣādī, (produced by Brāhmaṇa, from a Śūdra female, if married by a Brāhmaṇa, and produced a certain girl, and this girl again, if married by a Brāhmaṇa, and produced another girl, and so on, the sixth girl produced in this manner could give birth to the seventh a Brāhmaṇa. Or how if a Pāraśava, the son of a Brāhmaṇa and of a Śūdra female, married a most excellent Pāraśava female, who possessed a good moral character and other virtues, and if his descendants did the same, the child born in the sixth generation would be a Brāhmaṇa. We shall, however, show from Manu, how a Śūdra could attain even to the highest caste of a Brāhmaṇa without having any matrimonial connection with any Brāhmaṇa but by simply doing his own duties laid down for him by the Śāstras. The verse referred to runs as follows :-

" Śucir = utkr̥ṣṭa = suśrūṣur = mr̥ḍu = vāg = anahamkr̥ṭaḥ

Brāhmaṇ = ādy = āśrayō = nityam = utkr̥ṣṭām jātim = aśnute || 335 ||

Manu-saṃhitā, chap. IX.

Translation.

" (A Śūdra, who is) pure, in the service of the best (caste), of gentle words, not vain, in the protection of Brāhmaṇas and others (of the higher caste) invariably attains to the highest caste." Medhātithi commenting on the words *utkṛṣṭāṃ jātīm-aśnute* in the second line, says — '*Brāhmaṇādi-jātim=āpnoti=ty=arthah*'.

Here we see that a Śūdra could rise up to the highest i. e. Brāhmaṇa caste by good conduct. It may be argued that it is a rule which was confined to the books of smṛtis and had no practical application. Or it may be said, as one of the commentators, Sarvvañña-nārāyaṇa, adopting a slightly different reading, remarks *jātim=ucchrītām, janmāntarē Vaiśya-dvi-jātītām* i. e. they could rise up to the Vaiśya caste and that was also in after-birth. But neither of these is tenable. Manu says :-

" Śūdrāṇaṃ māsikam kāryyaṃ vapanam nyāyavarttinām ।
Vaiśyavac=chaucā-kalpaś=ca dvij=occhīṣṭam ca

bhōjanam ॥ 140 ॥ "

Manu-saṃhitā, chap. V.

i. e. A Śūdra who follows the Law, (viz. the rules of his caste), that is a Śūdra, who is in the service of a twice-born (*dvija-śuśrūṣaka*) must perform the rite of funeral oblation every month and tonsure his head and eat what is left in the cooking vessel after the twice-born have partaken of it. He should perform the purification and other ceremonies like the Vaiśyas. Raghunandana, in commenting on this verse writes in his *Śuddhi-tattva*

Iti Manu-vacanē nyāyavarttinām tēṣāṃ 'Vaiśyavac=chaucā-kalpaś=ca' ity=atra cakārād=Vaiśyadharmā-ātidesēn=ōpanayana-prasaktau tat-sthānē Brahma-purāṇē vivāho=vidhīyate. Yathā 'vivāha=mātra-saṃskāram Śūdrō=pi labhatē sadā.'¹

That is, from the (use of the word) 'ca' and by the substitution of the duties of a Vaiśya (for those of a Śūdra) the investiture with the sacred thread was inferred, but according to the Brahma-purāṇa marriage takes its place, as even a Śūdra has always the right of marriage only.

We are afraid Raghunandana is here wrong in his interpretation, firstly because what Brahma-purāṇa is said to have

¹ I regret I have not been able to trace this verse in a published edition of the Purāṇa.

laid down is apparently for ordinary Śūdras, where as the privilege referred to in the Manu-saṃhitā is meant for the “*nyāyavartti* Śūdras”. Secondly because according to the Vyāsa-saṃhitā :—

“ Śruti-smṛti-purāṇāṃ virōdhō-yatra dṛśyate ।

Tatra śrautam pramāṇam tu tayōr=dvaidhē smṛtir=varā ॥” 4 ॥

That is, where there is any difference in the Śruti (Veda) Smṛti and the Purāṇa, Śruti is the authority and between the Smṛti and the Purāṇa, Smṛti is the best. Again Brhaspati says :—

“ Ved=ārth=ōpanibandhatvāt prādhānyam hi Manōḥ smṛtam ।
Manvārtha-viparītā yā sā Smṛtir=na praśasyatē ॥

That is, as Manu strictly adhered to the Veda, his Smṛiti is superior to others and the Smṛti which goes against Manu is not commendable.

Now these clearly show that even from the orthodox point-of view, Manu's place is second only to the Vedas, so Brahma-purāṇa has no authority to over-ride Manu. Raghunandana was, therefore, wrong in his conclusion.¹ This conclusively proves, that even in Manu's time a class of Śūdras were promoted to the rank of Vaiśyas at least. In this way they must have got further promotions up to the highest rank. Instances of Vaiśyas becoming Brāhmaṇas are to be found in Brahma-purāṇa Chap. VII, V. 42—“Nābhāgarīṣṭa-putrau dvau Vaiśyau brāhmaṇatām gatau.”

Further it is said in the Anuśāsana Parva, Chap. 143, v. 51, and also in the Brahma-Purāṇa, chap. 223, v. 58 that even a Śūdra by good conduct could become a Brāhmaṇa :—

“ Vṛtte sthitas-tu Śūdr=ōpi Brāhmaṇatvam niyacchati ”

Professor Bhandarkar has shown how foreigners such as Kushanas and others were absorbed into the Hindu Society. We shall show here that the Kushana kings came to be described as belonging to a section of the solar race, in a Sanskrit book named *Mahārāja-Kanika-lekha* (letter written to Mahārāja Kanika), written by a Buddhist monk named Maticitra. Accord-

1 Harihara in his Commentary on Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra 2-5-34 writes—“Śūdrāṇāṃ aduṣṭa-karmaṇāṃ upanayanam etacet rathakāra viṣayam tasya tu mātāmahi-dvārakām sūdratvam aduṣṭakarmaṇāṃ madya-pāna-virahitānām-iti kalpatarukārah iti—Sūtrārthaḥ.” This shows that good Śūdras were invested with sacred thread.

ing to Mm, Satis Chandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa this Maticitra and his patron Kanika lived at the end of the third and beginning of the fourth century A. C. In verse 40 of the book Kanika is addressed as follows :—

“Trained by Pravrajita (monk) and born in the race of Kuśāna thou shouldst not defile the creed of the family whose ancestors descended from the noble line of the sun.,”

(J. A. S. B., 1910, pp. 477–81 ; and Ind. Ant, for Sept., 1903).

The Pallavas were a foreign tribe no doubt, but they in their inscriptions claimed to have descended from Aśvatthāmā the son of Drōṇācārya, (Ep. Ind., Vol, XIX., p. 113.). Some Gaṅgas are said to be a section of these Pallavas.

The Bengalis have a saying that what is not in Bhārata (Mahābhārata) is not in Bhārata (India). Let us see if anything corroborative can be found in this Mahābhārata, of what we have shown above.

It is clearly stated in chapter 65 of Śānti Parva that the foreigners such as the Yavanas, Kirātas &c were found in all the four castes (varṇas) and the four stages of life (āśramas) :—

“Yavanāḥ Kirātā=Gāndhāraś=Cīnaḥ Śavara Barbbarāḥ ।
Śakas=Tuṣārāḥ Kaṅkāś=ca Pahlavāś=c=Āndhra-

Madrakāḥ ॥ 13 ॥

Paundrāḥ Pulindā-Ramaṭhāḥ=Kāmbōjās=c=aiva sarvvaśaḥ ॥

Brahma=kṣatra=prasūtās=ca Vaiśyāḥ Śūdrās=ca

mānavāḥ ॥ 14 ॥

Katham dharmamāms=carisyanti sarvvē viṣaya-vāsināḥ

Mad=vidhaiś=ca katham sthāpyāḥ sarvvē vai dasyu-

jīvināḥ ॥ 15 ॥

Drśyantē mānuṣē lokē sarvva-varṇēṣu dasyavaḥ ।

Liṅgāntarē varttamānā=āśramēṣu caturṣv=apī ॥ 23 ॥

Here we find that the tribes such as Yavanas, Kirātas, Gāndhāras, Chīnas, Śabaras, Barbbaras, Śakas, Tuṣāras, Kaṅkas, Pahlavas, Andhras, Madrakas, Paundras, Pulindas, Ramaṭhas and Kāmbōjas have been designated as Dasyus or barbarians. They were to be seen among all the four castes

(*varṇas*) and the four *āśramas*.¹ Does this not go to corroborate, what Professor Bhandarkar has striven to prove by reference to the old inscriptions ?

But it is worthy of note that all these foreign tribes are here said to be *liṅg-āntarē vartamānāḥ* living with distinguishing characteristics. This means that a Yavana Vaiśya, a Śaka Vaiśya and a Palhava Vaiśya e.g., though they were all Vaiśyas, could be differentiated one from the other through marks such as garb, mode of dressing, hair and so forth. It thus seems according to this passage of the Śāntiparvan that all these barbarians were taken more or less into the Hindu fold.

Now we shall quote another passage from the Mahābhārata, from which it can easily be inferred that the agricultural and the pastoral tribes such as the Ābhiras* became rulers, and that they were not only recognised as Kṣatriyas but made to descend from the well-known epic and paurāṇic dynasties such as the Pauravas, Haihayas &c. Paraśurāma having annihilated the Kṣatriyas, made a gift of the earth to Kaśyapa. The earth being unable to bear this kingless state addressed Kaśyapa asking for the reinstatement of the following Kṣatriyas as kings whom she had kept in concealment :—

“ Śānti brahman mayā guptāḥ strīṣu Kṣatriya-puṅgavāḥ ।

Haihayānām kulē jātās = tē samrakṣantu mām munē ॥ 75 ॥

Asti Paurava-dāyādō = Vidūratha-sutaḥ prabhō ।

Rkṣaiḥ samvardhito vipra Rkṣavatī = atha parvatē ॥ 76 ॥

1 This view is supported by the Yugapurāṇa also. This Purāṇa forms the last chapter of the Garga Saṁhita (C. 20 B. C.). It says :— “And the lowest of the low, the non-Āryans, will be following the religious practices of the Āryans. In the concluding age Brahmans, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras will wear the same costume and observe the same religious practices; that is certain. In that last age orthodox people will mix with heretics. And verily there will be Śūdra Bhikṣus (i. e. religious mendicants) wearing matted hair (on the head) and bark garments (on their person). In that Kali age Śūdras, observing with constancy self-disciplinary vows, will doubtlessly officiate at sacrifices in the matter of repeating texts and attending to the sacrificial fire. When the last age will prevail, Śūdras, practising lengthy ceremonial, will offer oblation to the three house-holder's fires with hymns ushered in with the mystic syllable Om.” (J. B. & O. R. S., Vol. XVI, Pt. I, p. 27).

* In Viṣṇu-Purāṇa Aṁśa, IV, Chap. 24, part 18 we find that the Abhiras became Kings of Avantī. In Mṛcchakaṭika too is stated that a cow-herd named Āryaka by name became King of Avantī.

“Tath = ānukampamānēna yajvanā = th = āmitaujasā ।
 Parāśareṇa dāyādaḥ Saudāsasy = ābhirakṣitāḥ ॥ 77 ॥
 Sarvva-karmmāṇi kurutē śūdravat-tasya sa = dvijaḥ ।
 Sarvva-karmm = ēty = abhikhyātāḥ sa = mām rakṣatu
 pārthivaḥ ॥ 78 ॥

Śivi-putrō = mahātejā = Gōpatir = nāma nāmataḥ ।
 Vanē samvarddhitō = gōbhiḥ sō = bhi rakshatu mām
 munē ॥ 79 ॥

Pratarddanasya putrasya Vatsō = nāma mahābalaḥ ।
 Vatsaiḥ samvarddhitō = goṣṭhē sa = mām rakṣatu
 pārthivaḥ ॥ 80 ॥

Dadhivāhana-pautras-tu putrō = Divirathasya ca ।
 Guptaḥ sa Gautamēn = āsid = Gangā-kūlē = bhirakṣitāḥ ॥ 81 ॥
 Vṛhadrathō = mahātejā = bhūribhūri pariṣkrtaḥ ।
 Gō-lāṅgūlair = mahābhāgō = Grḍhrakūṭē = bhirakṣitāḥ ॥ 82 ॥

Maruttasy = anvavāyē ca Rakṣitāḥ kṣatriy = ātmajāḥ ।
 Marutpati-samā vīryyē samudreṇ = ābhirakṣitāḥ ॥ 83 ॥

Etē Kṣatriya-dāyādās = tatra tatra pariśrutāḥ ।
 Dyōkāra-hemakār = ādi-jātim nityam samāśritāḥ ॥ 84 ॥

Yadi mām abhirakṣanti tataḥ sthāsyāmi niścalā ।
 Eteṣāṃ pitaras = c = aiva tath = aiva ca pitāmahāḥ ॥ 85 ॥

Mad = artham nihatā = yuddhē Rāmeṇ = ākliṣṭa-karmaṇā ।
 Teṣāṃ = apacitiś = c = aiva mayā kāryyā mahāmunē ॥ 86 ॥

Śānti Parvva. Chap. XLIX.,

Translation.

O Brāhmaṇa ! many Kṣatriyas of the Haihaya race have been kept concealed by me among women, let them now protect me. There is the son of Vidūratha, a kinsman, of the Pauravas, who has been reared by the bears and now lives on the mount Rkṣavān. The great sage Parāśara has, out of compassion, protected the heir of Saudāsa and performed all the rites as that of Śūdra. His name is Sarvvakarmmā, let him protect me. Śivi's son, the powerful Gōpati, who has been reared by the cows in the forest, may protect me, Pratarddana's son, Vatsa by name, who has been reared by the calves in a cow-pen may protect me. The grand-son of Dadhivāhana, the son of Diviratha has been kept concealed by Gautama on the banks of the Ganges. The powerful Vṛhadratha has been protected by cow's tails at Grḍhrakūṭa. Many princes of the line of Marutta, like Indra in prowess, have been protected by the sea.

These descendants of the Kṣatriyas are now living in the protection of the masons and goldsmiths. If they now undertake to protect me I shall remain steady. The fathers and the grand-fathers of these princes died for me in the field of battle with indefatigable Paraśurāma. O great sage! it is my duty to revere them.

Incidentally, we would invite the attention of the scholars to verses 81 & 83 to see if they allude to Gupta, the father of Ghaṭōtkaca and the grand father of Candra-gupta I, and also to Devarkaṣita. In this connection, it is well worth noting the following passage of Viṣṇu-purāṇa :—

“ Mathurāyāmanugaṅga-Pryāgaṃ Magadha-Guptaś-ca
bhokṣyanti Kōśal-Audra Tāmraliptān samudra-tata-puriṇ=ca
Devarakṣitō=rakṣiṣyati ”

Viṣṇu-purāṇa, Amśa : IV. Chap. 28, part, 18.

That is, the Magadha dynasty will rule in Mathurā and the Guptas will rule in countries along the Ganges and in Prayāga. Devarakṣita will be the king of Kōśala, Udra, Tāmralipta and the countries on the sea-coast.

It is of special interest to note the words ‘ Guptaḥ ’ in verse 81 and ‘ Rakṣitāḥ ’ in verse 83 and the respective countries where they were brought up and over which they ruled.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE PĀLI CANON*

BY

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Rhys Davids in his *Buddhist India* (p. 188) has given a chronological table of Buddhist literature from the time of the Buddha to the time of Aśoka which is as follows :—

1. The simple statements of Buddhist doctrine now found, in identical words, in paragraphs or verses recurring in all the books.
2. Episodes found, in identical words, in two or more of the existing books.
3. The *Sīlas*, the *Pārāyaṇa*, the *Octades*, the *Pātimokkha*.
4. The *Dīgha*, *Majjhima*, *Anguttara*, and *Samyutta Nikāyas*.
5. The *Sutta-Nipāta*, the *Thera*-and *Therī-Gāthās*, the *Udānas*, and the *Khuddaka Pāṭha*.
6. The *Sutta Vibhaṅga* and *Khandhkas*.
7. The *Jātakas* and the *Dhammapadas*.
8. The *Niddesa*, the *Itivuttakas* and the *Paṭisambhidā*.
9. The *Peta* and *Vimāna-Vatthus*, the *Apadāna*, the *Cariyā-Piṭaka*, and the *Buddha-Vamsa*.
10. The *Abhidhamma* books; the last of which is the *Kathā-Vatthu*, and the earliest probably the *Puggala-Paññatti*.

This chronological table of early Buddhist literature is too catechetical, too cut and dried, and too general to be accepted in spite of its suggestiveness as a sure guide to determination of the chronology of the Pāli canonical texts. The *Octades* and the *Pātimokkha* are mentioned by Rhys Davids as literary compilations representing the third stage in the order of chronology. The Pāli title corresponding to his *Octades* is *Aṭṭhakavagga*, the Book of Eights. The Book of Eights, as we have it in the *Mahāniddesa* or in the fourth book of the *Suttanipāta*, is composed of sixteen poetical discourses, only four of which, namely, (1) *Guhatthaka*, (2) *Dutṭhatthaka*, (3) *Suddhatthaka* and (4) *Paramatthaka* share the common title of *Aṭṭhaka* and consist each of eight stanzas. That is to say, the four only out of the sixteen poems fulfil the definition

* a chapter of my work on "A history of Pāli Literature" to be published shortly.

of an Atthaka or octade, while none of the remaining poems consists, as it ought to, of eight stanzas. The present Atthakavagga composed of sixteen poems may be safely placed anterior to both the Mahāniddeśa and Suttanipāta. But before cataloguing it as a compilation prior to the four Nikāyas and the Vinaya texts, it is necessary to ascertain whether the Atthakavagga presupposed by the four Nikāyas was a book of four poems bearing each the title of Atthaka and consisting each of eight stanzas or it was even in its original form an anthology of sixteen poems. Similarly in placing the Pātimokkha in the same category with the Silas and Pārāyaṇas it would be important to enquire whether the Pātimokkha as a bare code of monastic rules was then in existence or not, and even if it were then in existence, whether it contained in its original form 227 rules or less than this number. There are clear passages in the Aṅguttara Nikāya to indicate that the earlier code was composed of one and half hundred rules or little more (sādhikam diyaddhasikkhāpadasatam, A. N., Vol. II, p. 232). As Buddhaghosa explains the pāli expression, "Sādhikam diyaddhasikkhāpadasatam", it means just 150 rules. According to a more reasonable interpretation the number implied in the expression must be taken more than 150 and less than 200. If the earlier code presupposed by the Aṅguttara passages was composed of rules near about 150 and even not 200, it may be pertinently asked if the Pātimokkha, as we now have it, was the very code that had existed prior to the Aṅguttara Nikāya. Our doubt as to the antiquity of the Pātimokkha as a bare code of rules is intensified by the tradition recorded by Buddhaghosa in the Introduction to his Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, (pt. I., p. 17) that the two codes of Pātimokkha were to be counted among the books that were not rehearsed in the First Buddhist Council.

The putting of the first four Nikāyas under head No. 4 with the implication that these were anterior to the Suttanipāta and the remaining books of the Pāli canon are no less open to dispute. With regard to the Dīghanikāya it has been directly pointed out by Buddhaghosa that the concluding verses of the Mahāparinibbāṇa Suttanta relating to the redistribution of Buddha's bodily remains were originally composed by the rehearsers of the Third Buddhist Council and added later on by the Buddhist teachers of Ceylon. A material objection to putting the Dīgha and the Aṅguttara Nikāyas in the same category is that in the Dīgha Nikāya the story of Mahāgovinda (Dīgha, II,

pp. 220 foll.) has assumed the earlier forms of Jātakas characterised by the concluding identification of Buddha, the narrator of the story, with its hero, while in the *Anguttara Nikāya* the story is a simple chronicle of seven purohitas without the identification. The four *Nikāyas* are interspersed with a number of legendary materials of the life of the Buddha which appear at once to be inventions of a later age when the Buddha came to be regarded and worshipped as a superhuman personality.¹ Our case is that without discriminating the different strata of literary accretions it will be dangerous to relegate all the four *Nikāyas* to the early stage of the Pāli canon.

The *Suttainpāṭa* figures prominently in the fifth order of the chronology suggested by Rhys Davids. Without disputing that there are numerous instances of archaism in the individual suttas or stanzas composing this anthology, we have sufficient reasons to doubt that the anthology as a whole was at all anterior to the *Niddesa* which heads the list of the Pāli Canonical texts representing the eighth order. By the *Niddesa* we are to understand two separate exegetical works counted among the books of the *Khuddaka-Nikāya*, (1) the *Mahāniddesa* being a philological commentary on the poems of the *Aṭṭhakavagga* (forming the fourth book of the *Sutta-Nipāṭa*) and (2) the *Cullaniddesa* being a similar commentary on the poems of the *Pārāyaṇavagga* (forming the fifth or the last book of the *Sutta-Nipāṭa*). The two questions calling for an answer in this connection are (vide B. M. Barua's *Aṭṭhakavagga* and *Pārāyaṇavagga* as two independent Buddhist anthologies—*Proceedings and Transactions of the Fourth Oriental Conference, Allahabad, 1928*, pp. 211-219) (1) was the *Mahāniddesa* composed, being intended as a commentary on the *Aṭṭhakavagga*, the fourth book of the *Sutta-Nipāṭa* or on the *Aṭṭhakavagga*, then known to the Buddhist Community as a distinct anthology? and (2) was the *Cullaniddesa* composed, being intended as a commentary on the *Pārāyaṇavagga*, the fifth book of the *Sutta-Nipāṭa* or on the *Pārāyaṇavagga* then known to the Buddhist community as a distinct collection of poems? With regard to the second question it may be pointed out that the poems of the *Pārāyaṇa* group, as these are found in the *Sutta-Nipāṭa*, are prologued by 56 *Vatthugāthās*, while the *Cullaniddesa* is found without these introductory stanzas. The inference as to the exclusion is based upon the fact that in the body of the *Cullanid-*

1. Read the *Life of Gotama, the Buddha* by E. H. Brewster.

desa, there is nowhere any gloss on any of the introductory stanzas. We notice, moreover, that the glosses of the Cullaniddesa are not confined to the sixteen poems of the Pārāyanavagga, the scheme of the Canonical Commentary including an additional sutta, namely, the Khaggavisāṇa, which now forms the second sutta of the first book of the Sutta-Nipāta. From the place assigned to this particular sutta in the Cullaniddesa, it is evident that when the Cullaniddesa was composed, it passed as a stray sutta, not belonging to any particular group, such as the Uragavagga. The stray nature of the Khaggavisāṇa Sutta may be taken as conclusive also from its mixed Sanskrit version in the Mahāvastu (Senart's edition, Vol. I., pp. 357-359), in which, too, it is not relegated to any group. If any legitimate hypothesis is to be made keeping the above facts in view it should be that the scheme of anthology in the Cullaniddesa rather shows the anthology of the Sutta-Nipāta yet in the making than presupposing it as a *fait accompli*.

Even with regard to the first question concerning the chronological order of the Mahāniddesa and Sutta-Nipāta, a similar hypothesis may be entertained without much fear of contradiction. The Mahāniddesa, according to its internal evidence, is an exegetical treatise which was modelled on an earlier exegesis attempted by Mahākaccāna on one of the Suttas of the Aṭṭhakavagga, namely, the Māgandiya Sutta (Mahāniddesa, pp. 197 ff). The modern exegesis of Mahākaccāna forming the corner stone of the Mahāniddesa can be traced as a separate sutta of the Saṃyutta Nikāya, Vol. III., p. 9, where the Sutta commented upon by Mahākaccāna is expressly counted as a sutta of the Aṭṭhakavagga (Aṭṭhakavaggike Māgandiya paṇhe). Once it is admitted that the Aṭṭhaka group of poems had existed as a distinct anthology even before the first redaction of the Saṃyutta Nikāya and Mahākaccāna's model exegesis on one of its suttas and, moreover, that the Mahāniddesa as an exegetical work was entirely based upon that earlier model, it is far safer to think that the Mahāniddesa presupposes the Aṭṭhakavagga itself as a distinct collection of poems rather than the Aṭṭhakavagga of the Sutta-Nipāta. Though the scheme of anthology in the Mahāniddesa includes only the poems of the Aṭṭhaka group, there is a collateral evidence to prove that in an earlier stage of Pāli Canonical literature two stray poems were associated with those of the Aṭṭhaka group just in the same way that the stray poem, Khaggavisāṇa sutta, has been associated in the Cul-

laniddesa with the poems of the Pārāyana group. The Divyāvādāna,¹ for instance, mentions that Pūrṇa, an associate of Sthavira Mahākātyāyana, recited the Munigāthā and Śailagāthā along with the poems of Arthavarga (Pāli Aṭṭhaka—vagga) with the implication that the Munigāthā (corresponding to Pāli Munisutta) and Śailagāthā (corresponding to Pāli Selasutta), included respectively in the Uragasutta, the first book and in the Mahāvagga, the third book of the Sutta-Nipāta, were associated with the poems of the Aṭṭhaka group. To put forward another argument the Nālaka Sutta in the third book of the Sutta-Nipāta is prologued by twenty Vatthugāthā or introductory stanzas which are absent from its mixed Sanskrit version in the Mahāvastu (Vol. III pp. 386. ff.). Judged by the theme and metre of the Vatthugāthā, they stand quite apart from the Sutta proper. The Sutta proper is a moral discourse of the Buddha which is quite on a par with several suttas in the Sutta-Nipāta and other texts, while in the Vatthugāthā, we come to hit all of a sudden on a highly poetical composition serving as a historical model to the Buddhacarita of Āśvaghoṣa. The Moneyasūte (Moneyya Sutta) is one of the seven tracts recommended by King Āśoka in his Bhābru Edict for the constant study of the Buddhists. This Sutta has been rightly identified by Prof. D. Kosambi (Indian Antiquary, 1912, Vol. XLI, pp. 37-40) with the Nālaka Sutta in the Sutta-Nipāta which, as pointed out above, has a counterpart in the Mahāvastu (Mahāvastu Ed. Senart, Vol. II., pp. 30-43 & Vol. III., pp. 382 ff.) where it does not bear any specific title. Judged by its theme, Moneyya Sutta is more an appropriate title than Nālaka. The importance of its naming as Nālaka arises only when the Vatthugāthā or the introductory stanzas are prefixed to the Sutta without any logical connection between the two. Considered in the light of Āśoka's title Moneya-sūte and the counterpart in the Mahāvastu as well as of the clear anticipation of Āśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita in the Vatthugāthā, it appears that the christening of the Moneyya sutta as Nālaka and the edition of the introductory stanzas took place some time after Āśoka's reign and not before. Some stanzas of the Padhāna Sutta have been quoted in the Kathāvatthu which, according to the Buddhist tradition, was a compilation of Āśokan time. The stanzas are quoted without any mention of the Sutta or of the text on which these have been drawn. The Pāli version of the

1. (Cowell and Neil Ed.) p. 35.

Sutta is to be found only in the Sutta-Nipāta, Book III. The inference that can legitimately be drawn from the quotation is that the Padhāna Sutta had existed in some form prior to the compilation of the Kathāvatthu, leaving the question of the Sutta-Nipāta altogether open.

The Khuddakapāṭha figures as the last book in the fifth order, it being supposed to be earlier than the Sutta Vibhaṅga, the Khandhakas, the Jātakas, the Dhammapadas, the Peta and Vimānavatthus as well as the Kathāvatthu. Buddhaghosa in the introduction to his Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, informs us that the Dīghabhāṇaka list of the Pāli Canonical texts precluded these four books, namely, the Buddhavaṁsa, the Cariyāpīṭaka, the Apadāna and the Khuddakapāṭha while the Majjhimabhāṇaka list included the first three of them. The preclusion may be explained either as due to sectarian difference of opinion or due to the fact that when the Dīghabhāṇaka list was drawn up these four texts were non-existent. If a comparison be made between the Khuddakapāṭha and the Khandhakas, it will be noticed that the first short lesson (saranattayam) of the Khuddakapāṭha was nothing but a ritualistic elaboration of an earlier refuge formula that can be traced in a passage of the Khandhakas. The second lesson may be regarded as made up of an extract from another passage occurring in the Khandhakas. The same observation holds true also of the fourth lesson, the Kumārapañham. The sources being not mentioned, it is indecisive whether the Khuddakapāṭha has drawn upon the Khandhakas or on some isolated passages. But if judging by the nature of differences in the common passages we are to pronounce our opinion on the relative chronology of the two texts, the priority must be accorded rather to the Khandhakas than to the Khuddakapāṭha. The Tirokuḍḍasutta of the Khuddakapāṭha is the first and the most important sutta of the Petavatthu. The existence of this sutta previous to the reign of king Aśoka is clearly proved by certain quotations in the Kathāvatthu from it. Here again we are to grope in the dark whether the quotations were from the Tirokuḍḍa as an isolated Sutta or from a sutta in the Petavatthu or in the Khuddakapāṭha. If any inference may be drawn from the high prominence that it enjoys in the Petavatthu our opinion will be rather in favour of priority of the Petavatthu. Now coming to the Kathāvatthu, we have already mentioned that it contains certain significant quotations from two suttas, the Tirokuḍḍa and the Nidhikaṇḍa, both of which are embodied in the Khuddakapāṭha, but there is nothing to show that when the

Kathāvatthu was compiled with these quotations, the Khuddakapāṭha itself was then in actual existence, it being quite probable that the quotations were made from the two isolated suttas, we mean when these suttas had not come to be included in the Khuddakapāṭha.

The Abhidhamma treatises figure as latest compilations in the chronological table of Rhys Davids. Of the seven Abhidhamma books, the Kathāvatthu is traditionally known as a compilation of Aśoka's age. The credibility of the tradition can be proved by a very peculiar dialectical style of composition developed in the all-important book of Buddhist Controversies and the traces of which can also be found to linger in some of the inscriptions of Aśoka, namely the Kalsi Shahabazgarhi and Manserah versions of the ninth Rock Edict (Vide B. M. Barua's Old Brahmi Inscriptions, p. 284). Another and more convincing piece of evidence may be brought forward to prove the credibility of the tradition. Prior to the despatch of missionaries by Aśoka, Buddhism as a religious movement was confined, more or less, within the territorial limits of what is known in Buddhist literature as the Middle Country (Majjhimadesa) and the Buddhist tradition in Pāli is very definite on this point. The Sāñci stūpas which go back to the date of Aśoka enshrine the relics of the missionaries who were sent out to the Himalayan tracts as also of the " good man " Mogaliputta, aptly identified by Dr. Geiger with Moggaliputta Tissa, the traditional author of the Kathāvatthu. Curiously enough, the Kathāvatthu contains the account of a controversy, (I. 3) in which it has been emphatically pointed out that up till the time of this particular controversy, the Buddhist mode of holy life remained confined to the places within the middle country and had not gained ground in any of the outlying tracts (paccantimesu janapadesu), the representatives of Buddhism whether the monks or the laity having had no access to those regions (B. M. Barua, Old Brahmi Inscriptions, p. 284). The account clearly brings out one important historical fact, namely, that so far as the outlying tracts are concerned, there were undeniably at that time other modes of Indian holy life. It is interesting to find that the 13th Rock Edict of Aśoka is in close agreement with the Kathāvatthu regarding this point. For in this important edict issued in about the 13th or 14th regnal year of King Aśoka, His Gifted Majesty definitely says that there was at the time no other tract within his empire save

and except the Yona region where the different sects of Indian recluses, the Sāmaṇas and Brāhmaṇas were not to be found and where the inhabitants had not adhered to the tenets of one or other of those sects (Vide Inscriptions of Aśoka by Bhandarkar and Majumdar. pp. 49-50- "Nathi chā she janapade yatā nathi ime nikāyā ānamtā yenesha bamhmane chā shamane chā nathi chā kuvā pi janapadashi (ya) tā nathi manushānam ekatalashi pi pashadashi no nāma pashāde"). Squaring up the two-fold evidence, it is easy to come to the conclusion that the compilation of the Kathāvatthu could not be remote from the reign of Aśoka.

In the Kathāvatthu, there are quotations the sources of which can now be traced in some of the passages in the Vinaya Piṭaka, Dīgha Nikāya, the Majjhima Nikāya, the Saṃyutta Nikāya, the Aṅguttara Nikāya and some of the books of the Khuddaka Nikāya. A few of the quotations can be traced in the Dhammasaṅgaṇi and the Vibhaṅga among the Abhidhamma books. As the passages are quoted in the Kathāvatthu without any mention of the sources, rather as well-known and authoritative words of the Buddha, it cannot be definitely maintained that the quotations were cited from the canonical texts in which the individual passages are traceable. There were suttas in some definite collections but until other definite evidences are forthcoming, it will be risky to identify them with the Nikāyas and the Vinaya texts as they are known to us. Even with regard to this point our position remains materially the same if we take our stand on the evidence of the Inscriptions of Aśoka, particularly on that of the Bhābru Edict. The Bhābru Edict clearly points back to a well-known collection of Buddha's words, the words which came to be believed as at once final and authoritative (ekeṃchi bhamte Bhagavatā Budhena bhāsīte save se subhāsīte). But here again we are helpless as to by what name this collection was then designated and what were its divisions ? If such be the state of things, it will be difficult to regard all the Abhidhamma books in the lump as the latest productions among the books of the Pāli Piṭakas. As for the chronology of the Pāli canonical texts, the safer course will be to fix first of all the upper and lower limits and then to ascertain how the time may be apportioned between them in conceiving their chronological order. As regards the upper limit certain it is that we cannot think of any text on Buddhism before the enlightenment of the Buddha. Whatever be the actual date of the individual

texts, it is certainly posterior to the great event of Buddha's enlightenment, nay, posterior even to the subsequent incident of the first public statement or promulgation of the fundamental truths of the new religion. The upper limit may be shifted on even to the demise of the Buddha, the first formal collection of the teachings of the Buddha having taken place, according to the unanimity of the Buddhist tradition, after that memorable event. Looked at from this point of view, the period covered by the career of 45 years of Buddha's active missionary work may be regarded just as the formative period which saw the fashioning of the early materials of the Buddhist Canon. With regard to the lower limit we need not bring it so far down as the time of the Pāli scholiasts, Buddhaddatta, Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla, that is to say, to the fifth century A. D. Going by the tradition, the Buddhist canon became finally closed when it was committed to writing for the first time during the reign of King Vāttagāmaṇi of Ceylon (Circa 29-17 B. C.). The truth of this tradition can be substantiated by the clear internal evidence of the text of the *Milinda Pañha* which was a compilation of about the first century A. D. As is well-known, in several passages, the author of the *Milinda Pañha* has referred to the Pāli books or to some chapters of them by name and the number of books mentioned by name is sufficiently large to exhaust almost the traditional list. Further, it is evident from references in this text that when it was compiled the division of the canon into three Piṭakas and five Nikāyas was well established. The *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*, the *Vibhaṅga*, the *Dhātukathā*, and the rest were precisely the seven books which composed the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* and the *Dīgha*, *Majjhima*, *Saṃyutta*, *Ekuttara* (*Āṅguttara*) and *Khuddaka* were the five Nikāyas which composed the *Sutta Piṭaka*. The Sinhalese commentaries, the *Mahāatṭhakathā*, the *Mahāpaccariya*, the *Mahākurundiya*, the *Andhaka* and the rest, presupposed by the commentaries of Buddhaddatta, Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla point to the same fact, namely, that the canon became finally closed sometime before the beginning of the Christian era. Thus we can safely fix the last quarter of the first century B. C. as the lower limit.

The interval of time between these two limits covers not less than four centuries during which there had been convened as many as six orthodox councils, three in India and three in Ceylon, the first during the reign of King Ajātasattu, the

second in the reign of King Kālāsoka (Kākavarṇi of the Purāṇas), the third in the reign of Aśoka, the fourth in the reign of King Devānam Piyatissa of Ceylon, the fifth in the reign of King Dutthagāmaṇi and the sixth or the last in the reign of King Vattagāmaṇi. The Pāli accounts of these councils make it clear that the purpose of each of them was the recital and settling of the canonical texts. If these councils can be regarded as certain definite landmarks in the process of the development of Pāli canonical literature, we can say that during the first four centuries after the Buddha's demise, Pāli literature underwent as many as six successive redactions. Going by the dates assigned to these councils, we may divide the interval into such shorter periods of Pāli literary history as shown below :—

First period	—	(483—383 B. C.)
Second	„	— (383—265 B. C.)
Third	„	— (265—230 B. C.)
Fourth	„	— (230—80 B. C.)
Fifth	„	— (80—20 B. C.)

Keeping these periods in view, we can easily dispose of some of the Pāli books. We may take, for instance, the Parivārapāṭha which is the last treatise to be included in the Vinayapitaka. This treatise, as clearly stated in the Colophon (nigamana) was written in Ceylon by Dīpa, evidently a learned Buddhist scholar of Ceylon as a help to his pupils to the study of the contents of the Vinaya (Parivārapāṭha, p. 226, "Pubbācariyamaggaṇ ca pucchitvā'va taṇi taṇi Dīpanāmo mahāpaṇiṇo sutadharo vicakkhano imaṁ viṭṭhāra samkhepaṁ sajjhāmaggena majjhime cintayitvā likhāpesi sissakānam sukhāvahaṁ Parivāraṁ ti yaṁ vuttaṁ sabbam vatthum salakkhaṇaṁ atthaṁ atthēna saddhamme dhammaṁ dhammena paṇṇatte "). As such the Parivārapāṭha was composed as a digest of the subject-matter of Vinaya or Buddhist discipline. We say that this treatise was composed in Ceylon because there are references within the text itself that it had been written after the Vinayapitaka was promulgated by Thera Mahinda and a number of his disciples and by their disciples in Ceylon. The succession of his disciples from the time of Thera Mahinda as set forth in the Parivārapāṭha (pp. 2-3) may suffice to show that the date of its composition could not be much earlier than the reign of Vattagāmaṇi. Even we may go so far as to suggest that the Parivārapāṭha was the Vinaya treatise which was canonised at the council held during the

reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī. For it is clearly stated in the colophon that the author caused the treatise to be written (likhāpesi), a mode of preserving the scriptures which would be inconceivable before the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī. The reference to the island of Tambapaṇṇī or Ceylon is not only in the verses which one might set aside as interpolation but in the prose portions which form the integral parts of the text.

Now if we fix our attention on the traditional verses embodied in the Parivārapāṭha (pp. 2-3 edited by Oldenberg) we have to infer therefrom that the five Nikāyas, the seven treatises of the Abhidhammapiṭaka and all the older texts of the Vinayapiṭaka were made known to the people of Ceylon by the wise Mahinda who arrived in Ceylon from Jambudīpa (India) after the third Buddhist council had been over. (Parivārapāṭha—pp. 2-3, “Upāli Dāsako c’eva Sonako Siggavo tathā, Moggaliputtena Pañcamā ete Jambusirivhaye tato Mahindo Itṭhiyo Uttiyo Sambalo tathā Bhaddanāmo ca paṇḍito, ete nāgā mahāpaṇṇā Jambudīpā idhāgatā, Vinayaṃ te vācayimsu piṭakam Tambapaṇṇiyā nikāye pañca vācesum satta c’eva pakāraṇe”).

The Mahāvagga and the Cullavagga are two among the earlier and important texts of the Vinayapiṭaka. Twenty-two Khandhakas or stock fragments are distributed into the two texts, ten into the Mahāvagga and the remaining twelve into the Cullavagga. These fragments constituting the separate divisions are arranged in a chronological order, and they are intended to present a connected account of the ecclesiastical history of the Buddhists from the time of the enlightenment of the Buddha down to that of the second Buddhist council which was convened, according to the Cullavagga account, a century after the demise of the Buddha (Vassasataparinnibbute Bhagavatī). The growth of the two texts may be sought to be accounted for by these two hypotheses: (1) that the Khandhakas were being added as they came into existence from time to time, or (2) that they were arranged all at the same time according to a set plan. Whatever be the actual merit of these hypotheses, none of them prevents us from maintaining that the series of the Khandhakas was closed with the inclusion of the account of the second Buddhist council and that nothing material was added after that, nothing, we mean to say, except the Uddānas or mnemonics in doggerel verses appended to each of the Khandhakas. Had the compilation of the Khandhakas remained open after the second

Buddhist council, it would have included an account of the later councils, particularly of one held during the reign of Aśoka. This line of argument is sufficiently strong to establish that the compilation of the twenty two Khandhakas as we find them embodied in the Mahāvagga and Cullavagga was anterior to the reign of Aśoka, as well as that its history is primarily associated with the tradition of the second Buddhist council. Assuming then that the closing of the collection of the Khandhakas in the shape of the Mahāvagga and the Cullavagga could not be removed from the first century of the Buddha era, we may briefly examine what inferences can be drawn from the Cullavagga accounts of the first and second Buddhist councils regarding the development of the Canonical texts. First with regard to the earlier Vinaya texts, the Cullavagga account of the second Buddhist council (Chap. 12) has referred to the following authorities by name,

- namely (1) Sāvattiya Suttavibhaṅga
- (2) Rājagahe „
- (3) Sāvattiya „
- (4) Sāvattiya sutta
- (5) Kosambiya „
- (6) Sāvattiya „
- (7) Rājagahe „
- (8) Rājagahe uposathasamyutte
- (9) Campeyyake Vinaya Vatthusmin.

The Suttavibhaṅga passages referred to in the Cullavagga account have been all found out by Prof. Oldenberg in the Suttavibhaṅga and what is more, the identified passages have satisfied the context supplied (Sāvattiya, Rājagahe Kosambiya). Keeping this fact in view can it be doubted that the Suttavibhaṅga of the Vinayapitaka was current as an authoritative text on Vinaya when the Cullavagga account referring to its passages was written? Now with regard to the remaining two references, namely, Rājagahe Uposathasamyutte and Campeyyake Vinayavattusmin traced respectively in the Mahāvagga (II. 8. 3) and Mahāvagga (IX. 3. 5), it is curious that the first reference is to a Samyutta passage and the second to a Vinayavattu. Although the Samyutta passage has found its place in the Mahāvagga, so long as the fact remains that the reference is to a passage in the Sutta collection, our inference must be that the Mahāvagga in its extant form was not yet in existence. The second reference is important as

pointing back to the existence of certain Vinayavatthus serving as materials for a compilation like the Mahāvagga.

Turning at last to the Cullavagga account of the first Buddhist council, it will be a mistake to suppose that the account as we have it in the Cullavagga is as old as the time of the council itself. The account must have been posterior to the time when the scriptural authorities of the Buddhist community comprised (1) Ubhato Vinaya—the disciplinary code of the bhikkhunis, and (2) Pañca-Nikāya—the five Nikāyas, Dīgha, Majjhima and the rest. Some of the Burmese manuscripts read Ubhato Vibhaṅga in lieu of Ubhato Vinaya.* That may be a mistake. But the contents mentioned in the Cullavagga account are undoubtedly the contents of the two Vibhaṅgas, the Bhikkhu and the Bhikkhunī. The list of the Sikkhāpadas codified as bare rules in the two Pātimokkhas is important as showing that the author of the Cullavagga account kept in his mind nothing but the Suttavibhaṅga with its two divisions: the Bhikkhu-Vibhaṅga and the Bhikkhunī-Vibhaṅga. Further, when this account was written, the five Nikāyas were well-known. But the contents mentioned are found to be only those of the first two suttas of the Dīgha Nikāya, Vol. I., we mean the Brahmajāla and the Sāmaññaphala-Suttantas. In the absence of the remaining details and of the names of the separate texts it is impossible to say that the Dīgha-Nikāya as presupposed was completed in all the three volumes as we now get or the five Nikāyas as presupposed contained all the fourteen suttanta texts as we now have them. One thing is, however, certain that there is yet no reference to the Abhidhamma treatises. For the reference to the Abhidhamma-Piṭaka we have to look into the Uddānagāthās in which there is mention of the three piṭakas (Piṭakam tiṇi). But nothing should be built upon it with regard to the development of canonical texts in so early a period as this on the strength of these uddāna gāthās which are apparently later additions.

The line of investigation hitherto followed has compelled us to conclude that the Suttavibhaṅga with its two great divisions, e. g., the Bhikkhu and the Bhikkhunī Vibhaṅgas were extant as

* It may be observed that in giving an account of the first Buddhist council, Buddhaghosa makes mention of *Ubhato-Vibhaṅga* signifying thereby the whole text of the *Sutta Vibhaṅga* completed in 64 bhānavāras (Samāṅgalavilāsini, pt. I., p. 13).

authoritative texts on the questions of Vinaya previous to the compilation of the Mahāvagga and the Cullavagga. The historical references that may be traced in the Suttavibhaṅga appertain all to earlier times and cannot, therefore, justify us in assigning the text to a period far removed from the demise of the Buddha. But we have still to enquire whether or not the Suttavibhaṅga can be regarded as the first or the earliest landmark of the Vinaya tracts. It may be sound to premise that the first landmark of the Vinayapiṭaka is not the landmark of the Vinaya tracts. The point at issue really is whether or not the text of the Sutta-Vibhaṅga forming the first landmark of the Vinayapiṭaka presupposes certain earlier literary developments and if so, where can this be traced? This is to seriously ask what was the earlier and more probable denotation of the term ubhato-vinaya, the two-fold Vinaya. If we decline to interpret it in the sense of two-fold Vibhaṅga, we must be raising this important issue just to remove an anomaly arising from the two-fold signification of the Pañcanikāya divisions of the Pāli canon. Buddhaghosa, the great Pāli scholiast, says that in their narrower signification the five nikāyas denoted the five divisions of the texts of the Suttapiṭaka, and that in their wider signification the five nikāyas included also the texts of the remaining two piṭakas, namely, the Vinaya and the Abhidhamma, the Vinaya and Abhidhamma treatises being supposed to be included in the Khuddakanikāya [Sumaṅgalavilāsini, pt. I, p. 23, cf., Atthasālinī, p. 26; Katamo Khaddakanikayo? Sakalam Vinayapiṭakaṃ Abhidhammapiṭakaṃ Khuddakapāṭhādayo ca pubbe-nidassita-pañcadasa bhedā (pubbe dassitacuddasa pabhedā iti pāṭhantaram), thapetvā cattāronikāye avasesaṃ Buddhavacanam]. Buddhaghosa also informs us that the Anumāna Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya was known to the ancients as bhikkhuvinaya and the Sīṅgalavāda sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya was venerated as gihi Vinaya.¹ If such terms as bhikkhuvinaya and gihivinaya had been current among the Buddhists of olden times, it is pertinent to enquire whether the expression "the two-fold vinaya." was originally used to denote the Bhikkhuvinaya and bhikkhuvivinaya or the bhikkhuvinaya and gihivinaya. If we examine the contents of the Aṅguttara or the Ekuttara Nikāya, we need not be surprised to find that Aṅguttaranikāya abounds in the Vinaya passages. In

1 B. M. Earua—A note on the Bhābru Edit, J. R. A. S., October' 1915, pp. 805-810).

each nipāta of this Nikāya we come across passages relating to the two-fold Vinaya namely the Bhikkhu and Gihī. Looked at from this point of view, the Aṅguttara Nikāya may justly be regarded as a sutta store-house of distinct Vinaya tracts. In this very nikāya we hit upon a vinaya tract (A. N., I, pp 98-100) which sets forth a rough sketch (mātikā) not of any particular vinaya treatise but of the whole of the Vinaya piṭaka. The list of Vinaya topics furnished in this particular tract cannot be construed as a table of contents of any particular text of the Vinaya piṭaka. Similar Vinaya tracts are scattered also in the suttas of other nikāyas. The consideration of all these facts cannot but lead one to surmise that the treatises of the Vinaya piṭaka point to a sutta background in the vinaya materials traceable in the Nikāyas particularly in the Aṅguttara. The Sutta background of the Vinaya texts is clearly hinted at in the concluding words of the Pātimokkha. "So much of the words of the Blessed One handed down in the Suttas, embraced in the suttas, comes into recitation every half-month." (Vinaya texts, S. B. E., Vol. I. p. 69). As for the date of the composition of the two Pātimokkha codes, one for the bhikkhus (monks) and other for the bhikkhunis (nuns), it is important to bear in mind that according to an ancient Buddhist tradition cited by Buddhaghosa, the Pātimokkha codes as they are handed down to us are two among the Vinaya texts which were not rehearsed in the first Buddhist council (Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, pt. I., p. 17). It may be readily granted that the codification of the Pātimokkha rules in the extant shape was not accomplished immediately after the demise of the Buddha. It is one thing to say this and it is quite another that the rules themselves in a classified form had not been in existence from the earlier times. The Cullavagga account of the first Buddhist council throws some clear light on the process of codification. It is said that the utterance of the dying Buddha authorising his followers to do away with the minor rules of conduct (Khuddānu-Khuddakāni sikkhāpadāni), if they so desired, formed a bone of contention among the bhikkhus who took part in the proceedings of the first Buddhist Council (See Milinda Pañha, pp. 142-144). They were unable to decide which were precisely the minor rules they were authorised to dispense with. Some suggested all but the four Parājikā rules, some, all but the four Parājikā, and thirteen Saṃghādisesa rules, some, all but the four Parājikā, 13 Saṃghādisesa and two Aniyata rules and thirty Nissaggiya

rules; some, all but the four Pārājikā, 13 Saṃghādisesa, two Aniyata, thirty Nissaggiya and ninety-two Pācittiya rules and some suggested all but 4 Pārājikā, 13 Saṃghādisesa, 2 Aniyata, 30 Nissaggiya, 92 Pācittiya and 4 Paṭidesaniya rules. The suggestion stopped with the 4 Paṭidesaniya rules and did not proceed beyond them, leaving us in the dark as to what the bhikkhus meant by all but "all these" (counted by names). The Pātimokkha code in its final form includes two hundred and twenty-seven rules, that is to say, the seven adhikaraṇa-samathas and seventy-five sekhiya rules in addition to those mentioned in the Cullavagga account. Omitting the 75 sekhiya rules the total of the Pātimokkha precepts of conduct would come up to 152. If the theras of the first Buddhist Council had in their view a Pātimokkha code in which the 75 Sekhiya rules had no place, the total of precepts in the code recognised by them was 152. Now we have to enquire if there is any definite literary evidence to prove that in an earlier stage of codification, the total of the Pātimokkha precepts was fixed at 152. Happily the evidence is not far to seek. The Aṅguttara Nikāya, as we have seen above, contains two passages to indicate that the earlier Pātimokkha code contained one and half hundred rules or little more (Sādhikam diyaḍḍhasikkhāpadasatam). * The earlier Pātimokkha code with its total of 152 rules may be shown to have been earlier than the Suttavibhaṅga on the ground that the Sutta-Vibhaṅga scheme makes room for the 75 Sekhiya rules, thereby recognising the Pātimokkha total to be 227 which was possible only in the second or final stage of codification of the Pātimokkha rules.

In dealing with the chronology of the seven treatises of the Abhidhammapiṭaka, we can only maintain that the order in which these treatises are enumerated can be interpreted as the order of the chronology. Any attempt at establishing such an interpretation would be vitiated by the fact that the order of enumeration is not in all cases the same. The order in which these are mentioned in the Milinda Pañha (p. 12) and which has since become classical is as follows:—

(1) Dhammasaṅgaṇī (Dhammasaṅgaha as Buddhaghosa calls it—vide Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, p. 17), (2) Vibhaṅga, (3) Dhātukathā, (4) Puggalapaññatti, (5) Kathāvatthu, (6) Yamaka and (7) Paṭṭhāna.

* Cf. Milinda Pañha which refers to the same total of the Pātimokkha rules in the expression "Diyaḍḍhesa Sikkhāpadasatesu."

A somewhat different order is evident from a gāthā occurring in Buddhaghosa's *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, Pt. I., p. 15.

“Dhammasaṅgaṇī-Vibhaṅgañca Kathāvatthuñca Puggalaṁ
Dhātu-Yamaka-Paṭṭhānaṁ
Abhidhammoti vuccati.”

It will be noticed that in the gāthā order the Kathāvatthu stands third instead of fifth and the Dhātukathā stands fifth instead of third. We have already noted that according to general interpretation of the five nikāya divisions of the Pāli canon, the Abhidhamma treatises come under the Khuddaka-Nikāya. This is apparently an anomaly which cannot be removed save by a liberal interpretation making it signify a sut-tanta back-ground of the Abhidhammapiṭaka. Thus an enquiry into the suttanta back-ground becomes a desideratum and we may lay down a general canon of chronology in these terms. The closer connection with the Sutta materials, the earlier is the date of composition. Among the seven Abhidhamma treatises, the Puggalapaññatti and the Vibhaṅga stand out prominently as the two texts which bear a clear evidence of emergence from a Sutta back-ground. The Puggala classifications in the Dīgha, Saṃyutta and Aṅguttara Nikāyas are seen to constitute at once the sutta back-ground and the stereotyped Vibhaṅgas or Niddesas, mostly contained in the Majjhima Nikāya may be taken to represent the Sutta back-ground of the Vibhaṅga. The exact position of the Puggalapaññatti in relation to the Suttanta collections has been properly examined by Dr. Morris in his edition of the Puggala Paññatti published for the P. T. S. London, Introduction, pp X-XI.

We have just one remark to add, namely, that compared with the Suttanta materials utilised in it, the Puggalapaññatti is the least original treatise of the Abhidhammapiṭaka and its inclusion in the Abhidhamma Piṭaka would have been utterly unjustifiable but for the Paññatti classifications in the mātikā No. 1. Whatever be the actual date of its compilation in respect of subject matter and treatment, it deserves to be considered as the earliest of the Abhidhamma books.

In the opinion of Mrs. Rhys Davids, the Vibhaṅga is “anticipated” by the Dhammasaṅgaṇī, although “it is by no means covered by the latter work either in method or in matter” (Vibhaṅga, P. T. S., Preface XIV). “In other words, the present book (the Vibhaṅga) seems by Buddhists to have

ranked second in the seven of its Piṭaka not accidentally, but as a sequel to the Dhammasaṅgaṇī requiring, in those who came to the study of it, a familiarity with the categories and formulas of the latter work—that is with the first book of the Abhidhamma”, (Ibid, XIII). Thus whether the Vibhaṅga is anticipated by the Dhammasaṅgaṇī or the latter is anticipated by the former is the point at issue.

Examining most of the chapters of the Vibhaṅga we find that each of them has a Abhidhamma superstructure (Abhidhamma-bhājanīya) built upon and kept distinct from a Suttanta exegesis (Suttantabhājanīya) the counterpart of which is to be found in the first four nikāyas and mostly in the Majjhima, as it will appear from the following table :—

Saccavibhaṅga (Suttantabhājanīya)—Saccavibhaṅga sutta (Majjhima, Vol. III., No. 141); Satipatṭhānavibhaṅga (Suttantabhājanīya)=Sati patṭhānasutta (M. N. L., No.10), Dhātuvibhaṅga (Suttantabhājanīya)—Dhātuvibhaṅga sutta of the Majjhima, Vol. III. No. 140.

It is evident from the juxtaposition of the Suttanta and the Abhidhamma exegesis in its different chapters that the Vibhaṅga marks that stage of the development of the Abhidhamma piṭaka when the Abhidhamma or Transcendental method of exegesis had not yet gained an independent foothold, when, in other words, it remained combined with the Suttanta or earlier method. The predilection is as yet for attempting the exegesis of the formulations in the Suttas. An independent treatment of pure topics of Psychological ethics, such as we find in the Dhammasaṅgaṇī is far beyond the scheme of the Vibhaṅga. In the progressive working out of exegetical schemes, the Niddesa or detailed specification of meanings of terms comes second to the uddesa or mātikā. Now if we compare the treatment of Rūpakkhanda in the Vibhaṅga (pp. 12-14) with that in the Dhammasaṅgaṇī (pp. 124 ff.), we cannot but observe that all that the Vibhaṅga has to present is merely the uddesa or mātikā of the Rūpakkhanda section of the Dhammasaṅgaṇī. The Niddesa of the rūpa-mātikā is to be found in no other Abhidhamma books than the Dhammasaṅgaṇī. Mrs. Rhys Davids admits (in a way arguing in our favour) that the contents of the Vibhaṅga are by no means covered by the Dhammasaṅgaṇī. The Vibhaṅga has, for instance, a section entitled Paccayākāravibhaṅga, an exegesis on the causal relations. The paccayas fall outside the

It is not only with regard to the Dhammasaṅgaṇī (with its supplement, the Dhātukathā) and the Paṭṭhāna that the Vibhaṅga represents the immediate background; it appears equally to have been the background of the Yamaka. It is easy to account for the dialectical method of the study of the Abhidhamma matters by keeping the Pāñhapucchakas appended to the different chapters of the Vibhaṅga. All these considerations lead us to conclude that strictly speaking the Vibhaṅga making “ an extended application of (the) organun or vehicle for the cultivation of the moral intellect ” is the first and the earliest of the Abhidhamma books.

1. Puggala Paññatti
2. Vibhaṅga { (a) Dhammasaṅgaṇī Dhātukathā
 (b) Yamaka
 (c) Paṭṭhāna
3. Kathāvattu

Although one can conceive in this manner the chronological succession of the five Abhidhamma books (leaving out the Puggalapaññatti which is rather a suttanta text and the Kathāvatthu which forms a class by itself), it is difficult to determine the actual dates of their composition. One thing is certain that the seven books of the Abhidhammapitaka were well-known and very carefully read especially in the Himalayan monastery when the Milinda pañha was composed in about the first century A. D. There is no reason for doubt that the Pāli canon when committed to writing during the reign of King Vattagāmaṇi in Ceylon, it included all these books in it. We have shown that when the Uddānagāthās of the Cullavagga

(Chap. II) of the Vinayapitaka were added, the three piṭakas of the Pāli canon had already come into existence. The question, however, is how far the date of the books of the Abhidhammapitaka can be pushed back. Here the only anchor-sheet is the Kathāvatthu, the third or the fifth Abhidhamma book which according to tradition, was a compilation of the Aśokan age. We have already adduced certain proofs in support of this tradition and have sought to show that when certain controversies which find a place in the Kathāvatthu took place, Buddhism as a religion had not overstepped the territorial limits of the middle country. But according to Buddhaghosa's commentary, the Kathāvatthu contains discussion of doctrines held by some of the Buddhist schools, e. g., the Hemavata, the Andhaka, the Pubbaseliya and the Aparaseliya, which could not be possible if the Kathāvatthu had been closed in the time of Aśoka. If it was a growing compilation, we have necessarily to suppose that although it commenced in Aśokan time, it was not brought to a close till the rise of the later Buddhist schools mentioned above.

Turning at last to the Suttapitaka comprising the five nikāyas, we can definitely say that it had reached its final shape before the composition of the Milinda Pañha in which authoritative passages are quoted from the texts of this piṭaka, in certain instances by a mention of the name of the sources. We can go further and maintain that the Suttapitaka was closed along with the entire Pāli canon and when the canon was finally rehearsed in Ceylon and committed to writing during the reign of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi. The tradition says that previous to the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi the texts were handed down by an oral tradition (mukhapāṭhavasena) from teacher to teacher (ācariya-paramparāya) the process of transmission being compared to the carrying of earth in baskets from head to head. Buddhaghosa says (Sumaṅgalavilāsiṇi, pt. I, pp. 12 foll.) that immediately after the demise of the Buddha and after the session of the first Buddhist Council, the task of transmitting and preserving each of the five nikāyas to an individual therā and his followers, which ultimately gave rise to some schools of bhāṇakas or chanters. The existence of the distinct schools of reciters of the five nikāyas is clearly proved (as shown by Dr B. M. Barua, Barhut Inscriptions, pp. 9-10), by the Milinda Pañha where we have mention of the Jātakabhāṇakas (the repeaters of the Jātakas) in addition to the Dīghabhāṇaka, the Majjhimbhāṇaka,

Samyuttabhāṇaka, *Āṅguttara-bhāṇaka* and *Khuddaka-bhāṇaka*, (*Milinda Pañha*, pp. 341 foll.). The terms 'pañcanekāyika' (one well versed in the five nikāyas) and bhāṇaka as well, occur as distinctive epithets of some of the Buddhist donors in the Sāñci and Bārhuṭ inscriptions which may be dated in the lump in the middle of the second century B. C. The inference from the evidence of these inscriptions has already been drawn by Prof. Rhys Davids to the effect that before the use of *Pañcanekāyika* (one well-versed in the five nikāyas) *suttantika* (a man who knows the Suttanta by heart), *Suttantakini* (a feminine form of *Suttantika*) and *Peṭakī* (one who knows the piṭaka by heart) as distinctive epithets, the piṭaka and five nikāya divisions of the Pāli canon must have been well-known and well-established. We say of the Pāli canon because substitution of nikāya for the term 'Āgama' is peculiar to the Pāli tradition. The term "*Pañcanikāya*" occurs as we saw also in the *Vinaya Cullavagga* (Chap. II) which we have assigned to a period which immediately preceded the Aśoka age. But even presuming that the five nikāya divisions of the growing Buddhist canon were current in the third century B. C., it does not necessarily follow from it that all the books or Suttas or individual passages comprising the five nikāyas were composed at that time. All that we can make bold to say that the first four nikāyas were, to all intents and purposes, the complete, while the *Khaddakanikāya* series remained still open.

We have pointed out that this account in the *Vinaya Cullavagga* clearly alludes to the *Dīgha* as the first of the five nikāyas as well as that the first two suttas were the *Brahmajāla* and *Sāmaññaphala* while as to the number and succession of the remaining suttas, we are kept completely in the dark. Straining the information supplied in the *Vinaya Cullavagga* we can proceed so far no doubt, that the first volume of the *Dīgha Nikāya* was mainly in the view of its compilers. Comparing the Suttas comprised in the remaining two volumes and marking the differences in theme and tone, it seems that these two volumes were later additions. The second volume contains two suttas, namely, the *Mahāpadhāna* and *Mahā-Govinda* which have been mentioned in the *Cullaniddesa* (p. 80) as two among the notable illustrations of the Suttanta Jātakas, the Jātakas as found in the earliest forms in Pāli literature. We have already drawn attention to the earlier chronicles of the seven purohitas in the *Āṅguttara Nikāya* where it is far

from being a manipulation in a Jātaka form. The casting of this chronicle in a Jātaka mould as we find it in the Mahā-Govinda Suttanta could not have taken place in the life-time of the Buddha. The second volume contains also the Pāyāsi Suttanta which, as shown by the previous scholars, brings the story of Pāyāsi to the death of Pāyāsi and his after life in a gloomy heaven. Thus suttanta contains several anecdotes forming the historical basis of some of the Jātaka stories. In the face of all these facts, we cannot but agree with Prof. Rhys Davids who places the date of this suttanta at least half a century after the demise of the Buddha. The third volume of the Dīgha includes in it the Āṭānāṭiya suttanta which is otherwise described as a *rakkhā* or a saving chant manipulated apparently on a certain passage in the then known Mahābhārata. The development of these elements such as the Jātaka stories and the Parittas could not have taken place when Buddhism remained in its pristine purity. These are later accretions or interpolations, the works of fable and fiction, we mean of imaginative poetry that crept, according to a warning given in certain passages of the Aṅguttara Nikāya, under the influence from outside. But there is no reason for surprise that such developments had already taken place as early as the fourth century B. C. for the passages that strike the note of alarm are precisely one of those seven important tracts recommended by Aśoka in his Bhabru Edict under the caption 'Anāgatabhayāni.' The growth of these foreign elements must have caused some sort of confusion otherwise it would not have been necessary to discuss in a sutta of the Saṃyutta Nikāya the reasonable way of keeping genuine the utterances of the Buddha distinct from others that crept in under the outside influence and were characterised by poetical fancies and embellishments (*kavikatā*). (Saṃyutta Nikāya, pt. II, p. 267). We may then be justified in assigning the whole of the Dīgha Nikāya to a pre-Aśokan age, there being no trace of any historical event or development which might have happened after King Aśoka. The only exception that one has to make is only in the case of the concluding verses of the Mahāparinibbāṇa Suttanta which were interpolated according to Buddhaghosa in Ceylon by the teachers of that island. Like the first volume of the Dīgha Nikāya, the whole of the Majjhima Nikāya strikes us as the most authoritative and original among the collections of the Buddha's teachings. There is no allusion to any political event

to justify us in relegating the date of its compilation to a time far removed from the demise of the Buddha. If it be argued that the story of Makhādeva, as we find it embodied in the Makhādeva sutta of this Nikāya, has already assumed the form of a Jātaka, of a Suttanta-Jātaka, mentioned in the Cullaniddesa, it cannot follow from it that the Nikāya is for that very reason a much later compilation. For the Makhādeva story is one of those few earliest Jātakas presupposed by the Pāli Canonical collection of 500 Jātakas. The literary developments as may be traced in the suttas of the Majjhima Nikāya are not of such a kind as to require more than a century after the demise of the Buddha.

Now concerning the Saṃyutta which is a collection of kindred sayings and the third of the five nikāyas, we may point out that it has been quoted by name in the Milinda Pañha, as also in the Peṭakopadesa under the simple title of Saṃyuttaka and that as such this Nikāya had existed as an authoritative book of the Pāli Canon previous to the composition of both the Milinda Pañha and the Peṭakopadesa. We can go so far as to maintain that the Saṃyutta Nikāya had reached its final shape previous to the occurrence of Pañcane-kāyika as a personal epithet in some of the Barhut and Sāñci-inscriptions, nay, even before the closing of the Vinaya Cullavagga where we meet with the expression "Pañcānikāya". In dealing with the account of the Second Buddhist Council in the Vinaya Cullavagga (Chap. XII), we have noted that a canonical authority has been alluded to as "*Rājagahe uposatha Saṃyutte*" at Rājagaha in the Uposatha Saṃyutta. The translators of the Vinaya Texts (pt. III, p. 410) observe that the term 'Saṃyutta' "must here be used for khandhaka", the passage referred to being the Vinaya Mahāvagga (II. 8. 3. the Uposatha Khandhaka). But looking into the Mahāvagga passage, we find that it does not fully tally with the allusion, as the passage has nothing to do with Rājagaha. In the absence of Rājagaha giving a true clue to the tracing of the intended passage, it is difficult to premise that the passage which the compilers of the Cullavagga account kept in view was the khandhaka passage in the Vinaya Mahāvagga. Although we have so far failed to trace this passage also in the Saṃyutta Nikāya, the presumption ought to be that the intended passage was included in a Saṃyutta collection which was then known to the compilers of the Cullavagga. The Suttas in the

Saṃyutta Nikāya do not refer to any political incident justifying one to place the date of its compilation far beyond the demise of the Buddha. As contrasted with the Ekuttara or Aṅguttara Nikāya the Saṃyutta appears to be the result of an attempt to put together relevant passages throwing light on the topics of deeper doctrinal importance while the former appears to be numerical groupings of relevant passages throwing light on the topics relating to the conduct of the monks and house-holders. Considered in this light, these two Nikāyas must be regarded as fruits of a critical study of suttas in some previous collections.

Now coming to deal with the Ekuttara or Aṅguttara Nikāya, we have sought to show that its main bearing is on the two-fold Vinaya, the Gahapati Vinaya and the Bhikkhu Vinaya. This Nikāya contains a section (Munḍarājavagga in the Pañcaka Nipāta) commemorating the name of King Munḍa who reigned, as shown by Rhys Davids, in Rājagaha about half a century after the demise of the Buddha. The Nikāya containing a clear reference to Munḍarāja cannot be regarded as a compilation made within the fifty years from the Buddha's demise. There is, however, no other historical reference to carry the date of its compilation beyond the first century from the Mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha. The date proposed for the Aṅguttara Nikāya will not, we think, appear unreasonable if it be admitted that the suttas of this nikāya form the real historical back-ground of the contents of the Vinaya texts.

We have at last to discuss the chronology of the fifteen books of the Khuddaka Nikāya, which are generally mentioned in the following order:—

(1) Khuddaka Pāṭha, (2) Dhammapada, (3) Udāna, (4) Itivuttaka, (5) Sutta Nipāta, (6) Vimānavatthu, (7) Petavatthu, (8) Therā-therīgāthā, (9) Jātaka, (10) Niddesa, (Culla and Mahā) (12) Paṭisambhidāmagga, (13) Apadāna, (14) Buddha-vaṃsa, ani (15) Cariyāpīṭaka.

This mode of enumeration of the fifteen books of the Khuddaka Nikāya (paññarasabheda Khuddakanikāya) can be traced back to the days of Buddhaghosa (Sumāṅgalavilāsini, pt. I., p. 17). It is obvious that in this list the Cullaniddesa and the Mahāniddesa are counted as one book; while counting them as two books, the total number becomes sixteen. There is no justification for regarding the order of enumeration as being the order of

chronology. In connection with the Khuddaka Nikāya, Buddhaghosa mentions the following facts of great historical importance. He says that the Dīghabhāṇakas classified the books of the Khuddaka Nikāya under the Abhidhamma Piṭaka enumerating them in the following order:—

(1) Jātaka, (2) Mahāniddeśa, (3) Cullaniḍḍesa, (4) Paṭi-sambhidāmagga, (5) Suttanipāta. (6) Dhammapada, (7) Udāna, (8) Itivuttaka, (9) Vimānavatthu, (10) Petavatthu, and (11) Therīgāthā, and leaving out of consideration the four books, namely, the Cariyāpiṭaka, the Apadāna, the Buddhavaṃsa and the Khuddakapāṭha. Buddhaghosa informs us that the Majjhima-bhāṇaka list contained the names of 15 books counting the Cariyāpiṭaka, the Apadāna and the Buddhavaṃsa as the three books in addition to those recognised by the Dīghabhāṇakas (Sumāṅgalavilāsinī, Pt. I., p. 15). It is important to note that the Majjhima-bhāṇaka list has taken no cognisance of the Khuddakapāṭha mentioned as the first book in Buddhaghosa's own list. It is not difficult to surmise that when the Dīghabhāṇaka list was drawn up, the Khuddaka Nikāya comprised just 12 books and when the Majjhima Nikāya list was made it came to comprise altogether 15 books, the Mahāniddeśa and the Cullaniḍḍesa having been counted as two books instead of as one. It is also easy to understand that from that time onward the traditional total of the books of the Khuddaka Nikāya became known as fifteen, and so strong was this tradition that to harmonise with it, the sixteen books had to be somehow counted as fifteen, the Mahāniddeśa and the Cullaniḍḍesa being treated as a single book. From this we may proceed to show that the Khuddakapāṭha appearing as the first book of the Khuddaka Nikāya in Buddhaghosa's list, is really the last book taken into the Khuddaka Nikāya sometime after the Majjhima-bhāṇaka list recognising 15 books in all had been closed. We need not be surprised if the Khuddakapāṭha was a compilation made in Ceylon and was given a place among the books of the Khuddaka Nikāya either immediately before the commitment of the Pāli Canon to writing during the reign of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi or even after that, although before the time of Buddhaghosa. The commentaries of Buddhaghosa are our oldest authorities that mention the Khuddakapāṭha as a canonical book. It does not find mention in the Milinda Pañha nor in any other work, canonical or ex-canonical, which was extant before the time of Buddhaghosa. The text is made up of nine lessons or short readings all culled from certain earlier canonical sources, the arrangement of these lessons being such

as to make it serve as a very useful handbook for the beginners and for the clergy ministering to the needs of the laity. The consideration of two points may suffice to bear out our contention. The first point is that the first lesson called the *saraṇa-ttaya* presents a developed mode of refuge formula of the Buddhists which is not to be found precisely in this form anywhere in other portions of the Pāli canon. As for the second point we may note that the third lesson called the *Dvāttiṃsākārā* (the thirty-two parts of the body) enumerates *matthake matthaluṅgaṃ* which is not to be found in the list furnished in the *Mahāsati-paṭṭhāna Suttanta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* and numerous other discourses.

We have seen that the *Buddhavaṃsa*, the *Cariyāpitaka* and the *Apadāna* are the three books which found recognition in the list of the *Majjhimabhāṇakas* and were taken no notice of in the *Dīghabhāṇaka* list. Apart from other arguments, one has to presume that these three books were compiled and received into the canon after the list was once known to have been complete with 12 books. These three books, as far as the subject matters go, are interconnected, the *Buddhavaṃsa* enumerating the doctrine of *praṇidhāna* as an essential condition of the *Bodhisatta* life, the *Cariyāpitaka* enumerating the doctrine of *cariyā* or practices of a *Bodhisatta* and the *Apadāna* the doctrine of *adhikāra* or competence for the attainment of the higher life. These three books presuppose a legend of 24 previous Buddhas which is far in excess of the legend of six Buddhas contained in other portions of the Canon. The *Buddhavaṃsa* and the *Cariyāpitaka* present a systematic form of the *Bodhistta* idea that was shaping itself through the earlier *Jātakas* and the *Apadāna* furnishing the previous birth stories of the *theras* and the *therīs* cannot but be regarded as a later supplement to the *Thera-Therī-gāthā*.

Besides the *Thera-Therī gāthā*, the *Vimānavatthu* or the book of stories of heaven is just another canonical work which is presupposed by the *Apadāna*. It is important to note that the *Vimānavatthu* contains one story, namely, the story of *Serissaka*, the incident of which, according to the story itself, took place hundred years, calculated by human computation from the death of the chieftain *Pāyāsi*. “*Mānussakam Vassasatam atitam Yadagge kāyamhi idhūpappanno*” (*Vimānavatthu*, P. T. S., p. 81).

The Pāyāsi Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya clearly shows that the death of Pāyāsi could not have taken place until a few years after the Buddha's demise. Thus going by the consideration of this point, we are compelled to assign a date of its composition to an age ahead of a century and a half from the demise of the Buddha. So the canonisation of this book could not have taken place earlier than the time of the third Buddhist Council, we mean the time of King Aśoka. Our suggestion for the date of the Vimānavatthu will gain in significance as we consider the contents of the Petavatthu, the book of stories of hell. We have noticed above that in all the three lists of the books of the Khuddaka Nikāya the name of the Petavatthu stands after that of the Vimānavatthu. From the occurrence of certain common stories, a suggestion has already been made that it was somehow an offshoot of the Vimānavatthu. Now in one of the stories (Petavatthu, IV. 3, p. 57) ¹, we have allusions to the Moriya (Maurya) king, who is identified in the commentary with King Aśoka ². If this construction of the word Moriya is correct, it leaves no room for doubt that the Petavatthu, as we now have it, was a post-Moriyan or post-Aśokan compilation.

The Cullaniddesa is a canonical commentary of the Khaggavisāṇa sutta and the Pārāyaṇa group of sixteen poems, all of which find place in the anthology called the Sutta Nipāta. We have sought to show that the Cullaniddesa indicates a stage of development of the Pāli canon when the Khaggavisāṇa sutta hang on the Pārāyaṇavagga as an isolated poem, without yet being included in a distinct group such as the Urugavagga of the Sutta Nipāta. Though from this line of argument it follows that the Cullaniddesa is earlier than the Sutta-Nipāta, it cannot at the same time be denied that it is posterior not only to such Suttanta-Jātakas as the Mahāpadāniya, Mahāgovinda, Mahāsu-dassaniya and the Maghadeva suttanta contained in the Dīgha and Majjhima Nikāyas but also to a collection of 500 Jātakas (Pañcajātakasatāni) (Cullaniddesa, p. 80). As such the Cullaniddesa cannot be dated much earlier than the reign of Aśoka.

1. " Rājā Piṅgalako nāma Suratthānaṃ adhipati abhū Moriyānaṃ upatthānaṃ gantvā Suratthānaṃ punar āgamā. "

2. " Moriyānaṃ'ti Moriyarājūnaṃ Dhammāsokaṃ saṃdhāya vadati " Petavatthu, P. T. S., p. 98.

The Mahāniddeśa too is a canonical commentary on the Aṭṭhaka group of sixteen poems forming the fourth book of the Sutta-Nipāṭa. As shown before the exegeses attempted in this book were all modelled on an earlier exegesis of Mahākaccāna in the Saṃyutta Nikāya. If this canonical commentary came into existence when the Aṭṭhakavagga was yet current as an isolated group, the date of its composition cannot but be anterior to that of the Suttanipāṭa. A clear idea of the date of this work can be formed from its list of places visited by the Indian sea-going merchants. The Mahāniddeśa list clearly points to a time when the Indian merchants carried on a sea-borne trade with such distant places as Java in the east and Paramayona in the West and it alludes as well to sea route from Tamali to Java *via* Tambapaṇṇi or Ceylon which was followed in the 5th century A. D. by the Chinese pilgrim, Fa-Hien. We can expect to come across such a list only in the Milinda Pañha which may be dated in the 1st or 2nd century A. D. Such a wide expansion of India's maritime trade as indicated in the Mahāniddeśa list would seem impossible if the book was a composition much earlier than the second century B. C. Now turning to the Suttanipāṭa we have been inclined to place it later than the two books of the Niddeśa on the ground that when it was compiled, the Aṭṭhakavagga and the Pārāyaṇavagga came to represent two distinct books of a comprehensive anthology and the Khaggavisāṇa sutta ceased to be a stray poem hanging for its existence on the Pārāyaṇa group. But our main reason for dating it posterior to the Cullaniddeśa is that the Pārāyaṇavagga in the Suttanipāṭa is prefaced by a prologue which is absent from the Cullaniddeśa scheme. Similarly the Nālakasutta perhaps known originally as Moneyya sutta as evidenced by the titles suggested in Aśoka's Bhabru Edict as a prologue clearly anticipating the poetical style of Aśvaghosa's Buddhacarita. In spite of the fact that the suttas embodied in it were gleaned from earlier collections, the Sutta-nipāṭa scheme of anthology does not seem to have been carried into effect before the 2nd century B. C.

With regard to the Jātakas as a book of the Khuddaka Nikāya, we have just seen above that the Cullaniddeśa points to a canonical collection of 500 Jātakas. That five hundred was the original total of the Jātakas is proved on the one hand by the 500 Jātaka representations witnessed by Fa-Hien round the Abhayagiri monastery of Ceylon and on the other hand by the mechanical multiplication of the stories in order to raise the

total from 500 to 550 from the days of Buddhaghosa. The *Milinda Pañha* alludes to the existence of the repeaters of the Jātakas apart from the repeaters of the five Nikāyas. We are unable to decide whether the *Milinda* reference is to the canonical books of the Jātakas or to a commentary collection which was then in existence. The numerous illustrations of the Jātakas on the ancient Buddhist railings such as those at Barhut and Bodhagaya, unmistakably presuppose the existence of the legendary story of the Buddha's life past and present. But the canonical collection of 500 Jātakas referred to in the *Cullaniddesa* appear to be earlier than the scriptural basis of the Buddhist sculptures and whatever the actual date of composition might be it was certainly later than that of the *Suttanta Jātakas* scattered throughout the first four Nikāyas. We may say indeed that the canonical collection took a definite shape near about the early Maurya period.

The Thera-Therī-Gāthās are two companion anthologies of the stanzas that are supposed to have been uttered by the theras and therīs surrounding the Buddha during the lifetime of the Master, or at least shortly after his death. (*Theragāthā*, Oldenberg's preface, XI).

" The separate uddānas or indices which occur regularly at the end of each nipāta and at the end also of the whole work, and give the names and numbers of the theras (and the therīs) and the number of verses in each chapter and in the whole work respectively seem to be based on a recension or condition of the text different from that which now lies before us " (*Ibid*, p. XIV). In the opinion of Dhammapāla, the commentator, the *Theragāthā* anthology had reached the final shape not earlier than the time of Aśoka. He points out that the Thera Tekicchakāri whose gāthās are embodied in the *Theragāthā* lived under King Bimbisāra, the father of Dhammāsoka. He further adds that the verses uttered by this thera were received into the canon by the fathers who assembled in the third Buddhist Council. Dhammapāla attributes some of the gāthās to Vitasoka, the younger brother of Dhammāsoka and certain other verses to Tissakumāra, the youngest brother of King Aśoka. If we can at all depend for chronology on the information supplied by Dhammapāla, the anthologies of Thera-Therī-gāthā must be taken as compilations that had received their final shape at the Third Buddhist Council and not before.

The Pāli Dhammapada is just one and undoubtedly the earliest of the six copies of the anthologies of the Dhammapada class. The earliest mention of the Pāli Dhammapada by name is to be found in the Milinda Pañha which is a composition of the first or second century A. D. From the mere fact that there were certain quotations in the Kathāvatthu and Mahāniddeśa of stanzas now traceable in the Dhammapada, no definite conclusion can be drawn as to the actual date of its composition. The Dhammapada hardly includes any stanzas that might be supposed to have been drawn upon the canonical collection of Jātakas. But as shown by the editors of the Prākṛit Dhammapada there are a few gāthās which were evidently manipulated on the basis of the gāthās in the Jātakas. Similarly it cannot be maintained that the Dhammapada contains any stanzas that were directly derived from the Suttanipāta, for the suttas which might be singled out as the source of some of the gāthās of the Dhammapada are to be found also in such earlier collections as the Dīgha or the Majjhima or the Saṃyutta or the Aṅguttara. The Therā and Therī-gāthās are the two anthologies of the Khuddaka Nikāya which appear to have been presupposed by the Dhammapada. As regards external evidence, there is only one tradition, namely, that a powerful discourse based on the Appamādevagga of the Dhammapada served to attract the attention of King Aśoka to Buddhism, clearly pointing to the existence of the Dhammapada as a distinct anthology as early as the third century B. C.

Itivuttaka, the Udāna and the Paṭisambhidāmagga are the remaining three books of the Khuddaka Nikāya of which the date of composition must depend upon mere conjecture till accidentally we obtain any reliable date. The Itivuttaka is a book of questions of genuine sayings of the Buddha, making no reference to any canonical work or to any historical event ascertaining its date, though it seems that it was the result of an afterthought, of a critical study of the authentic teachings of the Buddha in a certain light and for a specific purpose. The Udāna is a curious medley of legends and historical records, presented in a particular setting with a view to emphasising some pronounced opinions of the Buddha on certain controversial matters. The Paṭisambhidāmagga presents a systematic exposition of certain important topics of Buddhism, and as such it deserves to be classed rather with the books of the Abhidhammapiṭaka than with those of Suttanipāta. It is quite possible that before the development of the extant Abhidhamma piṭaka, it passed as one

of the Abhidhamma treatises. Concerning these three books the utmost that we can say that they are mentioned even in the list of the Dīghabhāṇakas, being counted there as three among the twelve books of the Khuddaka Nikāya, and that if the tradition about this list is at all credible, these three books must have existed when the list was drawn up, say, in the second century B. C.

The results arrived at concerning the chronology of the Pāli canonical literature are presented in the subjoined table.

(1) The simple statements of Buddhist doctrines now found, in identical words, in paragraphs or verses recurring in all the books.

(2) Episodes found, in identical works, in two or more of the existing books.

(3) The Sīlas, the Pārāyaṇa group of sixteen poems without the prologue, the aṭṭhaka group of four or sixteen poems, the sikkhāpadas.

(4) The Dīgha, Vol. I, the Majjhima, the Saṃyutta, the Aṅguttara, and earlier Pātimokkha code of 152 rules.

(5) The Dīgha, Vols. II & III, the Thera-Therī-Gāthā, the collection of 500 Jātakas, the Suttavibhaṅga, the Paṭisambhidaṃmagga, the Puggala-paññatti and the Vibhaṅga.

(6) The Mahāvagga and the Cullavagga, the Pātimokkha code completing 227 rules, the Vimānavatthu and Petavatthu, the Dhammapada and the Kathāvatthu.

(7) The Cullaniddesa, the Mahāniddesa, the Udāna, the Itivuttaka, the Suttanipāta, the Dhātukathā, the Yamaka and the Paṭṭhāna.

(8) The Buddhavaṃsa, the Cariyāpiṭaka and the Apadāna.

(9) The Parivārapāṭha.

(10) The Khuddakapāṭha.

DATE OF RASAKOUMUDĪ OF ŚRĪKANTHA KAVI AND
IDENTIFICATION OF HIS PATRON ŚATRUŚĀLYA
WITH JAM SATTARSĀL OF NAVANAGAR
(1569 to 1608 A. D.)

Dr. S. K. De mentions among minor writers on *alamkāra* the name of Śrīkaṇṭha as the author of a work by name *Rasa-Koumudī*¹ and refers to the only known Ms of the work as under:—

“ *Rasa-Koumudī* (Aufrecht i, 494 a, the Ms was copied in Sarṇvat 1652). ”

The Ms referred to by Aufrecht is the same as No. 303 of 1880-81 of the Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. This Ms originally consisted of 119 folios, out of which only 45 are left behind. It consisted of 10 chapters into two parts, *pūrva-khaṇḍa* and *uttara-khaṇḍa*, folios 1-52, 62, 67-73, 82-93, and 98, 99 are missing. The titles of chapters found in the available colophons are:—‘वाद्याध्याय, रसवर्णनाध्याय, षोडशशृंगारवर्णन, षड्भक्तवर्णन, राजनीतिवर्णन’ etc. Folios 53 to 100 deal with तालs, करणs, and अङ्गाहारs in the manner of the 4th chapter of the Bhāratīya Nāṭya Śāstra, justifying the following colophon to the chapters uniformly:—“इति श्रीमन्नाट्यशास्त्रे श्रीकण्ठकविवरचितायां रसकौमुद्यां”. The last three chapters, however, which deal with षोडशशृंगारवर्णन, षड्भक्तवर्णन, and राजनीतिवर्णन in a rhetorical style do not quite fit in as the major portion of the treatise deals with नाट्य and संगीत. The last chapter राजनीतिवर्णन appears to be a poetic description of the life and activities of the patron of the poet Śrīkaṇṭha as will be seen from the following verses at the end of the work:—

“ श्रीकण्ठनाम्ना रचिता नरेन्द्र—

योग्या रसाला रसकौमुदीयं ।

नव्यार्थभव्या रसिकेन सेव्या

काव्यानुसंधानविधानधन्या ॥ ३४ ॥

.....

“ भामां क्रूरकणिकमेरतितरां रिङ्गचतुरङ्गोत्तरां

चंचच्चारुरथां मदोत्कटभटां सेनां विधाय द्रुतं ।

हत्वा यः परिपथिपुंजमकरोद्धीद्वारकां निष्करां

सत्कीर्त्तिः किल शत्रुशाल्यनृपतेः पारो न पुण्यां बुधेः ॥ १० ॥

सम्यक्शास्त्रपरंपराप्रतिपदन्यासक्रियाप्रोहस—

द्विधापात्राविनोदिरंगरसिकः श्री शत्रुशाल्यो नृपः ।

तत्तत्कामकलाकलापकुशलः संगीतसाहित्ययोः

दक्षस्तांडवडंबरप्रमुदितो जामश्रिरं जीवतु ॥ ३६ ॥

अस्तीयं रसकौमुदी रसविदां संतोषसंपादिनी
रे धीरा धरणीतलोति विपुले यन्त्रापि कुन्त्रापि च ।
आस्ते क्षोणिपतिः सुरद्रुमसमो दाता रसग्राहक-
स्तत्रैनां पठतो जनस्य सुलभा गंगेयसिद्धिः करे ॥ ३७ ॥

रुष्णार्पणा मे रसकौमुदीयं विचित्रपद्यावलि चित्रितास्तु ।

कवीश्वराणां किलकण्ठपाठे लम्बा सती तिष्ठतु सा यथेष्टं ॥ ३८ ॥

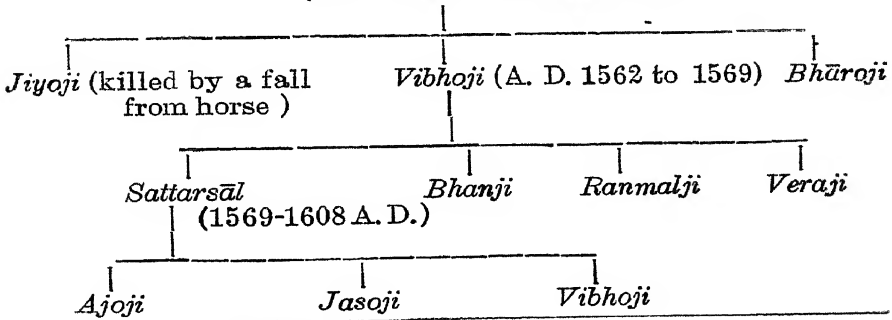
इति श्रीमन्नाट्यशास्त्रे श्रीकण्ठकविवरचितायां रसकौमुद्यां उत्तरखण्डे राज-
नीतिवर्णनाध्यायो दशमः ॥ संवत् १६५२ वर्षे आपादशुदि २ सोमे लपितं ॥”

The above verses lead us to infer that this medley of साहित्य and संगीत viz. रसकौमुदी was written by its author to commemorate the taste of his patron for साहित्य and संगीत, as also to glorify his exploits. This patron is referred to as ‘शत्रुशत्यन्प’ in verse 36 and the preceding verse. The same patron is referred to as ‘जाम’ in the blessing “जामाश्विरं जीवतु” of v. 36. The reference to द्वारका in the expression “अकरोद्वीद्वारकां निष्करा” and the geographical proximity of this part to the Nayanagar principality leave no doubt that the patron king of Srikanṭha was a Jam of the Navanagar line by name शत्रुशत्यन्प. We know from the history of this line that it was founded by Jam Raval in A. D. 1540.¹

Now it remains for us to identify the शत्रुशत्यन्प of this panegyric of Srikanṭha. The descendants of Jam Raval as recorded in the Kathiawar Gazetteer² are the following:—

Jam Raval

(Founder—A. D. 1540-1562)



1. Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. VIII, p. 566.

2. Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. VIII, pp. 566-67, 569.

We give below a summary of the facts recorded in the Gazetteer about Jam Sattarsāl and his times:—

“ Jam Sattarsāl otherwise called Jam Sataji ascended the gādī in 1569. This was a time of great confusion in the affairs of Gujrat..... Jam Sattarsāl absorbed many villages of the Gujrat domain and asserted his influence over many of his weaker neighbours. ”

“ From 1591 Navanagar was enrolled among the tributaries of the empire, though from this date it was considered a separate state and was not included in Sorath though subordinate to the Foudar of that province. Jam sataji devoted the close of his long reign to settling the affairs of his State and placing the government on a firm basis ; he reigned till A. D. 1608.”

As the date of our Ms is *Saṃvat* 1652 or A. D. 1596, the work itself must have been composed between A. D. 1569, the date of Jam Sattarsāl's accession to the gādi and A. D. 1596 the date of the present copy. Our copy, therefore, is a contemporary copy from the original of the court poet Śrīkaṇṭha, who must possibly have been living during this period of 27 years (A. D. 1569 to A. D. 1596) of Jam Sattarsāl's reign, within which the date of composition of *Rasa-koumudī* has been fixed by us. In view of the facts mentioned above we can safely infer that the work must have been composed *about 1575 A. D.* i.e. five or six years after the accession (to the gādi) of Jam Sattarsāl.

P. K. Gode.

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[Part III

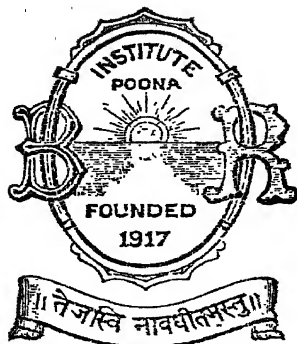
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Volume XII**

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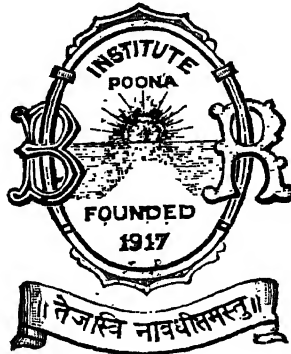
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APRIL 1931

[PART III

THE PROBLEM OF KNOWLEDGE AND THE FOUR SCHOOLS OF LATER BUDDHISM

BY

DURGACHARAN CHATTERJI, M. A.

The problem of knowledge pre-supposes a subject that knows and an object that is known and the method by which the subject or the knower acquires knowledge of the object as well as the knowledge which is the resultant of the former three. Vātsyāyana aptly remarks, " He who is led to an action out of any desire to accept or to reject a thing is the cogniser (*pramātṛ*). The object that is cognised is the cognisable (*prameya*). The knowledge of the object is the cognition (*pramiti*). And the apparatus whereby an object is cognised is the instrument of cognition (*pramāṇa*). With these four, *pramātṛ*, *prameya*, *pramiti*, and *pramāṇa* the circuit of the cognition of an object completes itself.¹ " If any of these four were wanting there could be no cognition. One is a cogniser only in relation to what is cognised as well as the cognition (*pramiti* or *pramā*). Again, the cognisable has come to be what it is only because it becomes the object of

1...yasyepsājihāsāprayuktasya pravṛttiḥ sa pramātā sa yenārtham pramī-
noti tat pramāṇam yo'rthaḥ pramīyate tat prameyam yadarthavi-
jñānam sē pramitiḥ cetasṛṣu caivaṁvidhāsv arthatattvam parisamā-
pyate. Vātsyāyana : Introduction to his Bhāṣya on the Nyāyasūtra.
Vācaspati echoes the same note in the Bhāmatī on the Śāṅkara-
bhāṣya of the Vedāntasūtra. 2. 2. 28,

cognition. There must be also some *pramāṇa*, some apparatus of correct cognition without which the *pramātṛ* and the *prameya* would remain strangely apart and be never related. So also *pramiti* is necessary in quest of which the three, *pramātṛ*, *prameya* and *pramāṇa* co-operate and function together. Thus these four *pramātṛ*, *prameya*, *pramāṇa*, and *pramiti* are relative and inter-dependent.

Now all the schools of Brahmanic philosophy have posited some permanent entity, i. e. soul as the cogniser to which cognition is variously related. The Buddhists have, however, denied the existence of any such permanent entity. The aggregates of *rūpa*, *saṃjñā*, *saṃskāra*, *vedanā* and *viññāna*,— the first corresponding to what we call material elements and all the rest to mental elements — are the stuff of which an individual is made. Cognition which is not subservient to any intelligent being, is referred to the *saṃjñā skandha* or the *viññāna skandha* according as it is determinate (*savikalpa*) or indeterminate (*nirvikalpa*).¹ The place of the transcendental *ātman* is taken by *viññāna*. It is the continuity of cognition (*santāna*) which holds together, unifies and synthesizes the fleeting moments of cognition and seems to give us the notion, though erroneous, of a subject or a knower acquiring knowledge both presentative (*nirvikalpa* or *svalakṣaṇa* and representative (*savikalpa* or *sāmānyalakṣaṇa*). This is in general the Buddhist view on the nature of the *pramātṛ* or the subject.² But there are some notable points of difference among

1 ...rūpaviññānam rasaviññānam ityādi nirvikalpakam viśiṣṭajñānam vijñānaskandhaḥ saṃjñānamittodgrahaṇātmakaḥ pratyayaḥ saṃjñāskandhaḥ tatra saṃjñā gaurityādikā gotvādikam ca tatpratipattinimittam tayorudgrahaṇā yojanā. tadātmakaḥ pratyayo nāmajātyādiyojanātmakam savikalpam jñānam saṃjñāskandhaḥ. Nyāyavārtikatātparyapariśuddhi (Bib. Ind.) pp. 213-214. Again savikalpam vijñānam saṃjñāskandhaḥ nirvikalpakam jñānam vijñānaskandhaḥ.

Śaṅkarānandasamuccaya (Bib. Indica), p. 26.

2 ...For a detailed exposition of the Buddhist theory of soul or rather not-soul (*nairātmya*) the following may be consulted.

(a) Stcherbatsky : Soul theory of the Buddhist.

(b) Rhys Davids : Soul (Buddhist), Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics.

(c) Keith : Buddhist Philosophy, Chapter IV.

(d) Stcherbatsky : Central Conception of Buddhism,

the various schools. It would therefore be better if we discuss the problem of cognition with reference to each of the four different schools of later Buddhism, which was responsible for the growth and development of Buddhist logic.

Buddhism in the beginning though branching out into, as many as eighteen schools, settled itself later to four principal ones viz. Vaibhāṣika, Sautrāntika, Yogācāra and Mādhyamika.

Whether these schools arose one after another or side by side is a question which cannot be easily answered. So without entering into this moot point, we shall begin with the Vaibhāṣika – a procedure which, though it may not be chronologically true, can be supported from the standpoint of the evolution of thought.

The Vaibhāṣikas share with the general Buddhist schools the doctrines of soullessness and the *skandhas*. *Vijñāna* is the *pramāṇa*. And the *prameyas* are the sense-data of colour, sound, odour, taste and touch (*rūpa-śabda-gandha-rasa-spraṣṭavya*). Corresponding to these five *prameyas* there are five senses, sense of vision, sense of audition, sense of smelling, sense of taste and sense of touch (*cakṣu-śrotra-ghrāṇa-jihvā-kāyendriyāṇi*) which apprehend the *prameyas* or the sensibles.

The Vaibhāṣikas admit the reality of external things though they acknowledge them to be momentary. They do not, like the Yogācāras, the Buddhist idealists, hold that the external objective world is only a manifestation of internal consciousness (*vijñānapariṇāma*). According to them "our knowledge or awareness of things not mental is no creation but only discovery.¹" Had it not been for perception no determination of *vyāpti* or the invariable concomitance between the *probans* and *probandum* would be possible, as it follows from repeated observations of the *probans* and *probandum* associated together. In the absence of the perceptibility of the external world no concomitance can be determined and hence no inferential knowledge.²

1 ...Radhakrishnan; "Indian Philosophy" vol. I, p. 614.

2 ...vijñeyānumeyatvavāde prātyakṣikasya kasyacid apyarthasyābhāvena vyāptisaṃvedanaśāhānābhāvenānumānapravṛtṭyanupapattiḥ sakalalokānubhavavirodhaśca. Sarvadarśanasamgraha, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona City, 1924, Bauddha-darśana, p. 43.

Cognition, however, according to the Vaibhāṣikas is devoid of any form belonging to subject cognised. Cognition is co-existent with the object and has for its origin the same conditions as the object itself. If the cognition and the object be thus mutually related, the former becomes *pramāṇa* with reference to the latter.¹ Jayanta in his *Nyāyamañjarī* develops the doctrine which he has introduced there as a *pūrvapakṣa*. Cognition and object are but two co-existent momentary entities, as they are originated by kindred cause-complex (*tulyasāmagryadhīna*). Cognition in any particular moment is due to the cognition of the previous moment as its material cause (*upādāna-kāraṇa*) together with the object of the previous moment as the auxiliary cause (*sahakārikāraṇa*). Again, the object at any particular moment is due to the object of the previous moment as the material cause together with the cognition of the previous moment as its auxiliary cause. Thus both cognition and object depend on a kindred cause-complex (*sāmagrī*) and the cognition which rightly corresponds to the object is the *pramāṇa* of that object. In spite of the fact that every thing cognition as well as object, is of a momentary character, human life and its activities have been rendered possible only on the continuity of cognition and object in the above process.²

Cognition being of the nature of illumination is regarded as the knower or the subject (*grāhaka*). The object being of the nature of insentience is regarded as the knowable (*grāhya*).³

Then comes the Sautrāntika school of Buddhist philosophy. Like the Vaibhāṣikas they do not recognise the perceptibility of the

1 ...nirākārabodho' rthasahabhāvy ekasāmagryadhīnastatrārthe pramāṇam. Saṅghasāsanasamuccaya (B. I., p. 26).

2 ...kṣaṇabhaṅgiṣu padārtheṣu sahakāryupādānakāraṇāpekṣakṣaṇāntara-santatijananena ca lokayātrāmudvahatsu jñānajanmani jñānam upādānakāraṇam arthaḥ sahakārikāraṇam arthajanmani cārtha upādānakāraṇam jñānam sahakārikāraṇam iti jñānam ca jñānārthajanyam arthaścārthajñānajanyo bhavātītyevam ekasāmagryadhīnatayā tam artham avyabhicarato jñānasya tatra prāmāṇyam iti. Nyāyamañjarī, p. 15.

3 —jñānam prakāśasvabhāvam iti grāhakam artho jādātmeti grāhyam iti. ibid p. 16.

external objects. According to them the world of matter is not directly apprehended ; nevertheless it has a real existence of its own. Objects can be cognised by inference. Cognition assumes the form of the object which itself cannot be intuited. So the object is to be inferred from the form it imprints on our cognition. Consciousness is, as it were, the mirror in which the external realities are reflected.¹

The Yogācāra or Vijñānavāda is another school of Buddhist philosophy which does not admit the reality of external things. The reality of the objective world, according to this school, is an illusion. It is nothing more than a creation of the mind. The objective world is merely the transformation of our consciousness (*vijñānapariṇāmu*). An itinerant ascetic, an amorous person and a dog, all catch sight of a woman, but they have three different notions. The ascetic looks upon her as a mere carcass, the voluptuary takes her to be an object of amorous delight while the dog takes her to be something eatable.² Thus with reference to one and the same body of a woman, diverse judgments arise according to the pre-conception and the mental inclination of the different observers. Similarly, the diversity of judgment on our part of the empirical world is due to the individual susceptibilities of the subject. Consciousness is indivisible and unitary in its nature. To the people of perverse intellect it appears as divided into a perceptible object, a perceiving subject as well as perceptive knowledge.³

1 ...According to Prof. Stcherbatsky the Brahmanic account of the Sautrāntika theory of cognition, viz. *bāhyārthānumeyatvavāda* (the theory that the external objective world is not directly intuited but cognised inferentially) is due to some confusion between the *Sautrāntika* and the *Yogācāra* doctrines. (Stcherbatsky—Central Conception of Buddhism, p. 63 f. n. 5). He also observes that with regard to the process of cognition there is not much difference between the *Vaiśiṣṭika* and the *Sautrāntika* schools.

2 ...parivrāṭ kāmkaṣunām ekasyām pramadātanau.
kuṇapaḥ kāmīnī bhakṣyam iti tisro vikalpanāḥ.
Sarvadarśanasamgraha. p. 30.

3 ...avibhāgo hi budhyātmā viparyāsitadarśanaīḥ.
grāhyagrāhakasamvittivedavān iva lakṣyate.
Sarvadarśanasamgraha. p. 33.

According to them there are two kinds of consciousness (*vi-jñāna*) : one is the *ālaya vijñāna* and the other *pravṛtti vijñāna*. *Ālaya vijñāna* is the continuous store-consciousness which is identified with the notion of the self (*ahamāspadam*). And the manifold *vijñānas* or awarenesses we experience in our common life viz. knowledge of red, blue etc., are cases of *pravṛtti vijñāna*. *Ālaya vijñāna* is not in itself of a steady and permanent nature but it appears to be so owing to the continuity (*santāna*) of the basic consciousness at each moment, just like the water of a river in which no one current of water is the same as the other. One Brahmanic writer says, *ālayavijñāna* is the cogniser, *pramātṛ* and the five aggregates of *rūpa*, *vedanā*, *vijñāna*, *saṃjñā* and *saṃskāra* are the *prameyas* which undergo changes every moment.¹ The entire world (of sense perception) involving as it is does, the tripartite division of a knower, knowable and knowledge is impressed as it were in the current of a continued succession of consciousnesses in the shape of notion of a self.²

“ The *Ālaya-vijñāna* is a series of continuous consciousness. It is, to use the modern psychological term, a stream of consciousness. It is always running and changing. It is the sole substratum of the transmigration in *saṃsāra*. The *Ālaya-vijñāna* of the Buddhist has for its counterpart in the *Ātman* of the orthodox Hindu system of Philosophy with this difference that the *Ātman* is immutable, while *Ālaya vijñāna* is continuously changing.”³

Vācaspati also suggests if *ālayavijñāna* be regarded as a permanent entity it is in other words the soul.⁴

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- 1 ...kṣaṇe kṣaṇe pralīyamānam utpadyamānam cālayavijñānam pramātā. rūpavedanāsaṃjñāsaṃskārākhyā pañcaskandhī kṣaṇe kṣaṇe prāṇīkar-mānusāreṇa vilīyamānotpadyamānā ca svabhāvena suranaranārakarūpeṇa pariṇatim uparatim ca yāntī prameyam.

Sarvamatasamgraha, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, p. 19.

- 2 ...grāhyagrāhakagrhaṇātmakam sarvam idam jagad ahamityālaya-vijñānasamāntāne nityanimagnam.

ibid. p. 20.

- 3 ...Sogen : System of Buddhistic thought; Calcutta University, pp.210-211.

- 4 ...tad yadyekam sthiram āsthīyetatatonāmāntareṇa ātmaiva.

Bhāmatī on the Vedāntasūtra, s. 2. 2. 18.

The Tattvaratnāvali of Advayavajra (G. O. Series) refers to two schools of Yogācāras, one advocating *sākāravāda* (i. e. cognition has some form in which it appears to represent an external object) and the other *nirākāravāda* (i. e. cognition has no form whatsoever).¹ The first school argues : If cognition has the form of a blue (object) or the like, why one should admit external things ? If again, cognition has no form of a blue (object) or the like, how one can admit external things ? In the first case cognition itself serves the purposes of external things and in the second case in the absence of any form in a cognition, external things, if any, cannot be established as there is no other means of cognising objects except through cognition which must have some form.²

The second school says :-There is no external reality as has been supposed by ignorant people. Consciousness under the influence of *vāsanā* appears as external entities. All appearances are mere illusions (*māyā*). Cognition is devoid of any form but has a self-illuminating nature. In reality, mind is free from any imprint of a supposed external object and is like the sky clear and infinite.³

Though the above view of the Yogācāra school is true from the metaphysical and transcendental standpoint, they have tentatively subscribed to the ordinary notions of subject and object, without which every day life becomes an absurdity.⁴

While the Yogācāras refuse to admit any extramental reality and explain every thing in terms of *viññāna* or cognition, the Mādhyamikas go one step further and discard *viññāna* also. To them both mind and matter are equally appearances and not reality which is rather inexpressible and hence *śūnya* - in the sense that

1 ...yogācārasca dvidhaḥ sākāranirākārabhedenā.
Advayavajrasaṃgraha, p. 18.

2 dhiyo nīlādirūpatve bāhyo'rthaḥ kiṃ nibandhanaḥ
dhiyo'nīlādirūpatve bāhyo'rthaḥ kiṃ nibandhanaḥ. ibid. p. 18.
This *kārikā* has been attributed to Dharmakīrti.

3 ...bāhyo na vidyate hyartha yathā bāhīrīkalyate
vāsanālūṭhitam cittam arthābhāsam pravartate.
yāvad ābhāsate yacca tau māyaiva bhāsate
tattato hi nirābhāsaḥ śuddhāntanabhonibhaḥ ibid. p. 18.

4 ...vastuto vedyavedakākāraavidhurāyā api
buddher vyavahartpariñānānurodhena
vibhinnagrāhyagrāhakākārarūpavattayā etc.
Sarvadarśanasamgraha, pp. 32-33

all attributes have been abstracted from it. Their creed is that reality is neither existence nor non-existence, nor the combination nor the negation of both.

But the conclusions of an uncompromisingly rigorous logic cannot have any effect on ordinary minds which are yet to be trained to enable them to form a correct notion of reality (*tattva*) by means of a graduated course of instruction. So the Mādhyamika teachers have introduced two kinds of truth—*saṃvṛti* and *paramārtha*, so that the ordinary people may learn to argue for themselves and choose the right one. Of the two-fold truth *saṃvṛti* and *paramārtha*, the latter which is the real and highest truth transcends intellect (*buddhi*), while the former belongs to the region of intellect. *Saṃvṛti* is the relative truth referable to our every day life and experiences. It is called *saṃvṛti* on account of the fact of its veiling on all sides the real nature of things.¹ It is characterised by the notion of name and namable, cognition and cognisable and the like.

It has been said that Buddha's teachings are with reference to these two kinds of truth, viz. *saṃvṛti* and *paramārtha*. Those who do not understand the difference between these two truths, shall not understand the spirit of the profound teaching of Buddha. Candrakīrti observes in connection with the above that without admitting the concerns of the work-a-day world, which are characterised by the notion of names and namables and of knowledge and knowables, ultimate truth cannot be discussed.² 'So also Nāgārjuna says, ultimate truth cannot be set forth without referring to the practical concerns of life and without realising ultimate³ truth there can be no nirvāṇa.³

1 ...samantādvaram saṃvṛtiḥ ajñānam hi samantāt sarvapadārthatattvāvacchādanāt saṃvṛtiriti uccyate sa cāyam abhidhānabhidheyajñānajñeyādilakṣaṇaḥ.
Prasannapadā on the Mādhyamikakārikā (Bib. Buddhica), p. 492.

2 ...ye'nayor na vijānanti vibhāgam satyayordvayoḥ
te tattvam navijānanti gambhīram buddhaśāśane.
kiṃtu laukikam vyavahāram anabhyupagamyā
bhidhānābhidheyajñānajñeyādilakṣaṇam aśakya eva
paramārtho deśayitum. Ibid. p. 494.

3 ...vyavahāram anāśritya paramārtho na deśyate
paramārthamanāgamyā nirvāṇam nādhigamya. M. K. 24.10.

Now *saṃvṛti* has been divided into two classes for practical purposes : (a) *tathyasamvṛti* and (b) *mithyāsamvṛti*. The cognition of a blue as blue by means of some sense organ, viz. eyes, is a case of *tathyasamvṛti*. But hallucinations, a mirage and the like which are due to some defect either in the sense-organ or the sensing itself, are cases of *mithyāsamvṛti*.¹ In terms of Nyāya, the former are *pramāṇa* and the latter are *apramāṇa*. But in the transcendental stage both *tathyasamvṛti* and *mithyāsamvṛti* are equally wrong, as it would seem to a saint (*ārya*).² We may refer in passing to the Yogasūtra where we read that *yoga* demands the suppression of all mental states right or wrong.³ There *pramāṇa* (correct knowledge) along with *viparyaya* (incorrect knowledge) is one of the several *vṛttis* to be got rid of in yoga.

The Mādhyamika position also reminds one of Śaṅkara's observation which is strikingly similar to it.⁴ In his introduc-

- 1 ...sa ca saṃvṛtirdvividhā lokata eva, tathyasamvṛtir mithyā saṃvṛti śceti. tathā hi kimcit pratītyajātam nīlādikam vasturūpam adōṣavadindriyair upalabdham lokata eva satyam. mayāmaricipratibimbādiṣu pratītya samupajātam api doṣavadindriyopalabdham yathāsvam tīrthikasiddhāntaparikalpitaṃ ca lokata eva mithyā.

Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā. p. 353.

- 2 ...etattad ubhayam api samyagdrśāmāryāṇām mīṣā paramārthadaśāyām saṃvṛtisatyālikatvāt.

Compare the Vedantic division of truth into *pāramārthika*, *vyavahārika* and *prātibhāṣika* : the first corresponds to the Buddhist *paramārtha* and the last two to *tathyasamvṛti* and *mithyāsamvṛti* respectively.

- 3 ...yogaścittavṛttinirodhaḥ.....Yogasūtra, p. 1. 2.
(vṛttayaḥ) *pramāṇaviparyāyavikalpanidrāśmṛtayaḥ*

Yogasūtra, 1. 6.

- 4 ...tam etam avidyākhyam ātmānātmanoritaretarādhyasam puraskṛtya sarve pramāṇaprameyavyavahārā laukikā vaidikāśca pravṛttāḥ sarvāṇi ca śāstrāṇi vidhipratishedha-mokṣaparāṇi. katham punar avidyāvadviṣayāṇi-pratyakṣādīni pramāṇāṇi śāstrāṇiceti. ucyate dehendriyādiṣvahaṃmamābhimānarahitasya pramāṇtṛtvānupapattau pramāṇapravṛtṭyanupapatter na hīndriyā-nyanupādāya pratyakṣādivyavaraḥ sambhavati na

[contd. on the next page]

tion to the commentary on the Brahmasūtras, Śaṅkara says: "The mutual superimposition of the Self and the non-self, which is termed Nescience, is the pre-supposition on which there base all the practical distinctions - those made in ordinary life as well as those laid down by the Veda - between means of knowledge, objects of knowledge (and knowing persons), and all scriptural texts, whether they are concerned with injunctions and prohibitions (of meritorious and non-meritorious actions) or with final release. But how can the means of right knowledge such as perception, inference, etc., and scriptural texts have for their object that which is dependent on Nescience? Because, we reply, the means of right knowledge cannot operate unless there be a knowing personality, and because the existence of the latter depends on the erroneous notion that the body, the senses and so on, are identical with, or belong to, the self of the knowing person. For without the employment of the senses, perception and the other means of right knowledge cannot operate. And without a basis (i. e. the body) the senses cannot act. Nor does any body act by means of a body on which the nature of the self is not superimposed. Nor can in the absence of all that, the self which in its own nature is free from all contact, become a knowing agent. And if there is no knowing agent, the means of right knowledge cannot operate (as said above). Hence perception and other means of right knowledge, and the Vedic texts have for their object that which is dependent upon Nescience." ¹

Śaṅkara goes on arguing as above and proves on the analogy of men with animals that it is out of Nescience that men betake themselves to the notion of the means and objects of knowledge.

cādhiṣṭhānamantareṇendriyāṇām vyāpāraḥ sambhavati.
 na cānadhya-stātmabhāvena dehena kaścid vyāpriyate na
 caitasmin sarvasminn asatyasaṅgasyātmanah pramāṛṭṭvam
 upapadyate. na ca pramāṛṭṭvam antareṇa-
 pramāṇapraṛṭṭtirasti tasmād avidyāvad viṣayāṇyeva
 pratyakṣāḍini pramāṇāni śāstrāṇi ceti.

Śaṅkara Bhāṣya on the Vedāntasūtras ;
 Ānandāśrama Edition, 1890, pp. 12-14

1 ...The Vedāntasūtras with Śaṅkara Bhāṣya (S. B. E.) vol. XXXIV, pp. 6-7.

So the view that *pramāṇa* has no place in the transcendental vision of the reality, is shared equally by some of the Buddhist and Brahmanic philosophers.

From the views of the four Buddhist schools, as sketched above, it would appear that the first two admit the reality of an external objective world which enters into our cognition, but the last two do not admit such a reality. The objective world is, as they would say, invested with reality by a mere figment of imagination. This view of reality although true from philosophical standpoint cannot accord with our everyday life. So they have admitted tentatively a relative truth to fit in with the practical concerns of life.

It is from this aspect of truth in our everyday experience that logical discussions are possible. Logic or Nyāya is consistent with realism. The Brahmanic Nyāya system is out and out realistic, as well as the Jaina Nyāya. The Buddhist schools of Vijñānavādin and of Mādhyamika, as we have seen, have obviated the difficulties in the way of logical speculations by their realistic concessions. The logical texts of the Buddhists we know of, all belong to Mahāyāna and were written by Mādhyamika and Vijñānavādin authors. The Mādhyamika and the pre-Diñnāga Yogācāra writers on logic mostly reverted to Gautama's principles. Though Yogācāra or Vijñānavādin (idealists) in their metaphysical theories, Diñnāga and Dharmakīrti have for the purposes of logic taken up the Sautrāntika position which represents the transition stage between Hinayāna and Mahāyāna. The Buddhist logicians that flourished later on mostly adopted their principles.

CATTLE AND CATTLE-REARING IN ANCIET INDIA

BY

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In the following pages, an attempt has been made to deal with "Cattle and Cattle-rearing in ancient India." The subject has been treated within a brief compass, and under five heads — viz. (1) Cattle-objects of great care and religious veneration (2) Keeping and employing cattle, (3) Diseases and their treatment, (4) Feeding and stock breeding and (5) Conclusion.

Cattle is equivalent of Sk. "go". Besides cattle, the word "go" has a host of other synonyms — such as, the earth, the Goddess of speech, water, rays of the Sun, a mother etc. In mythology, we actually find the cow as a symbolical representation of the Earth, rays of the Sun, or the Goddess of speech.¹ The Buddha again, while preaching against cow-killing says, "Like unto mother.....The cows are our best friends.....As water, earth, gold, wealth and corn, even so are the cows for men, for this is a requisite for living beings."² Life, be it animal or vegetable would have been impossible but for the Sun's rays. It is under their influence that a cyclical change essential for life goes on in nature. Green parts of plants decompose the carbon dioxide given out by the animal kingdom into carbon and oxygen. The free carbon is assimilated by the woody fibres and tissues, and oxygen — so vital for animal life returns to the atmosphere. *Ap* is life-giving, the Earth bears all living beings and offers sustenance to them, and *Vāc* is the gracious goddess who feeds the reflective mind. Indeed, the language grows with the development of human thought, and it appears that with discoveries of the usefulness of the cow, "go" grew to be identified with all that sustains body and mind.

1 *Vide* the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, II, 2, 1, 21 ; the Śat. Br. 1, 9, 3. 16 and the Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, V, 10. In the Matsya-Purāṇa, ch. XI, verse 12, the Earth is represented as taking the form of a cow.

2 *Vide* the Sutta Nipāta, Brahmanadhammika Sutta, 13. 24.

The primitive Indian feeling for the cow is very beautifully and naturally portrayed in the following hymn' of the Rgveda.

"Come back, go not elsewhere ; abounding in wealth, sprinkle us ; Agni and Soma, you who clothe (your worshippers) again, bestow upon us riches. Bring them back again, render them obedient : May Indra restore them : May Agni bring them nigh : May they come back to me and be fostered under this (their) protector : do thou Agni keep them here, may whatever wealth (there is) remain here. I invoke the knowledge of the place, of their going, of their coming, of their departure, of their wandering, of their returning : (I invoke) him who is their keeper. May the keeper return (with them) ; he who reaches them when straying ; reaches them when wandering and returning. Indra, come back and bring back (the cattle) ; give us our cows again ; may we rejoice in our cows being alive ; I nourish you gods, who are everywhere present, with curds, with butter, with milk : may all these deities who are entitled to worship reward us with riches. Come back (ye cows) bring them back ; return (ye cows) bring them back ; and (you cows) coming back return : there are four quarters of the Earth, bring them back from them " (Wilson's translation).

In the early stage of Aryan civilisation cattle formed the principal property of the people.² It is quite natural therefore, that the early Aryans were so anxious for the safe keeping, "going and returning " of their cattle. Indeed, they formed into *gotras* and *gosthis* for the protection of their cattle against wild beasts and robbers. The literal meaning of *gotra* and *gostha* are respectively common cow-stall and common pasture land. Dr. Das holds that the early days were insecure and a number of families entered into a mutual understanding to erect a strong common enclosure for the protection of their cattle. Those families who held a common cow-stall belonged to the same *gotra*, and a number of *gotras* who used a common pasture-land, likewise belonged

1 Rv. x, 19.

2 The pride and joy of a cattle owner is beautifully described in the Dhaniya Sutta of the Sutta Nipāta. Dhaniya is said to have had 30,000 cows of which 27,000 were milked daily.

to the same *goṣṭhī*.¹ Thus, a common interest in cattle furnished the original ground for the socio-economic life to grow.

When the Aryans first settled down they settled down as agriculturists and appreciated the importance of cattle from the point of view of agriculture. The horse could also be used to draw the plough, but it was perhaps never so employed. Only in the R̥gveda, there is a reference to the horse being used to draw cart loads of corn.² The fact that it was useless for ploughing except only in dry soil, made oxen indispensable for agricultural work.

Moreover, bullocks and buffaloes were necessary as beasts of burden—for drawing carts and caravans³, cow-dung was necessary for manuring the fields and milk necessary for daily consumption and for offering libations and also for preparing butter, ghee, curd, various kinds of cakes, sweetmeats etc. from it. Cow-hides were tanned and made into leather vessels for carrying water.⁴ Whether in the R̥gvedic period bones were used as manure is not known; but in later times, the fertilising property of bones and also of raw-beef was discovered and taken full advantage of.⁵ Hot fomentation with cow's urine was discovered to be an infallible remedy for hepatic inflammation, a solution of cow-dung in

1 See R̥gvedic Culture, p. 121.

2 "Refresh the horses: take up the corns stacked in the field and make a cart which will convey it easily"... (R̥v. X, 101, 7).

It may be noted in this connection that there is absolutely no trace of the horse in the finds of Harappā and Mahenjodero. It is yet to be ascertained whether the horse was domesticated before the Vedic civilisation.

3 Jāt. No. 1 and 2 describe the story of caravans travelling long distances apparently from Benares to Aparanta through the desert of Rajputana. And the Sohaura copper-plate inscription speaks of caravansaries storing fodder and wheat, the loads of ladders, canopies, yoke-pins and ropes for use in times of urgent need.

4 Cunningham's Stupa of Bharut.

5 *Vide*. The Bṛhat-Saṃhitā, ch. 55, 17-19 and the Arthaśāstra, Bk. II ch. 24.

water was found to be a good disinfectant and dried cow-dung was found necessary for druggists' furnaces.¹

Again, we find that the Vedic people had no objection to taking beef. In the epic period also, beef and buffalo-meat was used by the people.² Jāt. No. 199, refers to the same practice and Dhīgha Nikāya vol. II, speaks of a beef-stall in a prominent place of the city. But even in the R̥gvedic times, there arose a school of thinkers who raised a protest against killing such a useful animal as the cow "as is shown by the name *aghnya* applied to it in many passages³" of the R̥gveda. In the Brahmanadhammika Sutta of the Sutta Nipāta again, we find the Buddha enumerating the usefulness of the cow and strongly protesting against cow-killing. This protest gradually increased in volume till the custom of cow-killing was totally abolished in a later age.

By the Sūtra period, we find that the cow has already acquired a peculiar sacredness.⁴ Wilful killing of a cow was then considered so serious an offence that the killer was to be punished by mutilation. And even if one killed a cow accidentally or happened to be the indirect cause of its death, he was to undergo severely austere penances.⁵ The law laid in this connection by the Arthaśāstra is even more drastic.

1 It was necessary for some *Āyurvedic* medicines to be prepared under a uniformly low temperature. The process was to place the ingredients in an earthen vessel. The vessel was then inserted well inside the furnace and the furnace fed by dried cow-dung. A uniformly low-temperature was automatically maintained thereby, and the ingredients entered slowly into chemical composition under that low temperature.

2 See the Mahābhārata, Vanaparva, ch. CCV & CCVI. cf. the Harivaṃśa ch. 146, 147.

2 Vedic Index, II, 146.

4 Āpastamba in I, 2, 30, 20 & 21 says "one should not void his excrements facing cows or stretch out his feet towards them." cf. Yājñ I, 134; Manu IV, 48; Gautama II, 12; and Viṣṇu LX, 22. Again Manu in IV, 45 says that the cowpen is a sacred place. Cf. Vasiṣṭha XXII, 12, Gautama IX, 40 and 45. The Matsya Purāṇa in ch. 80 enjoins the worship of a cow.

5 See the Āpastamba Samhitā, ch. I. The Parāśara Samhitā, ch. IX. The Sambarta Samhitā and also the Agnipurāṇa, ch. CCXXVII.

“स्वयं हन्ता घातयिता हर्ता हरयिता च बध्य ।”¹

i. e. whoever hurts or causes another to hurt, steals or causes another to steal (a cow) should be slain. The *Bṛhaspatismṛti* in chap. X, 11 enjoins that suspected thieves of cattle should be subjected to the ordeal of the ploughshare² and if the guilt was proved, they should be heavily punished. The ordeal itself was, however, a severe punishment and as such, most certainly produced the desired moral effect upon those who had questionable characters. On the other hand, any act meant for the welfare of the bovine species was highly commendable. In this connection, the following lines from the *Agni-purāṇa* will be found interesting :

“The cows are holy and blissful and the universe owes its existence to the bovine species. Hallowed is the touch of a cow and hallowed is the ground she stands upon.³ Cows offer the best sustenance to all sorts of animals.⁴ The cows are the holiest of the holiest, the best of all auspicious sights.⁵ The pools where of a cow would drink should be deemed as a sanctuary. The man who gives morsels of food every day to a cow, is sure to ascend heaven after death. The man who provides a cow even belonging to another with similar morsels of food merits a similar salvation ; while the man who does anything for the welfare of the bovine species in general goes to the region of Brahman after death. The man who makes the gift of a cow,⁶ or sings any hymn in her praise or rescues her life from jeopardy or

1 See Bk. II, chap. 29.

2 *Bṛhaspati* in X, 28, 29 says, “ iron 12 *palas* in weight should be formed into a ploughshare. It should be 8 *āṅgulas* long and 4 *āṅgulas* broad. The ploughshare having been made red hot in fire, a thief should be made to lick it once with his tongue. If he is not burnt, he obtains acquittal.”

3 Cf. *Vasiṣṭha* III, 57 ; *Manu* IV, 124. *Baudh.* I, 6, 13, 19.

4 Cf. *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* III, 1, 2, 14.

5 At *Bodh Gayā* and other places, we find that ‘a cow with a suckling calf’ as an auspicious sight, acquired a large place in fine arts.

6 *Viṣṇu* in XCII, 5 says “ गोप्रदानेन स्वर्गलोकमाप्नोति । ” and in the *Bṛhaspati Samhitā* (edited by Pandit Panchanan Tarkaratna) we find in verse 4, “ गोदानं सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते । ” Cf. Also *Vasiṣṭha* XXIX, 11.

from imminent peril, ensures the salvation of all souls any way related to him in life.¹ ”

Thus, the ancient Aryans had always borne in their hearts a tender solicitude for the well-being of their cattle and awarded by the Sūtra period, a peculiar religious veneration to the cow.

Not only that, they were very much a practical set of people and laid down specific rules and formulas regarding construction and sanitation of the cow-stall, keeping and employing cattle, their diseases and treatment etc.

Thus in the Kṛṣisaṃgraha we find :

“A cattle-shed should be fifty-five cubits square, and it should never be erected when the Sun enters Leo i. e. in the month of *Bhādra*.² ”

“ One who makes his cattle-shed strong and keeps it clear from dung secures a healthy growth for his animals.³ ”

“ Goats should never be kept in the same shed with cows; and rice-washing, fish-washing, cotton, husks, hot starch, broom-stick, pestle, or spoiled food should never be kept in the cow-shed.⁴ ”

“ To safe-guard against the breaking out of diseases, the cow-house should be occasionally fumigated with vapours of *devadūra* (*pinus deodora*) *vacha* (orris root) *mamsī* (pulp of fruits ?) *guggula* (a fragrant gum resin) *asafoetida* and mustard seeds mixed together ; ”⁵ and “ a *pinyāka* tree (*Asa Foetida*) should be planted in the cow-house with a view to improve its general sanitary condition. ”

As for employing the plough cattle, we find the following injunctions :

1 Chap. CCCXII.

2 See verses 86 and 87.

3 Verse 84.

4 Verses 88 and 89.

5 The Agnipurāṇa, ch. CCXCII, 33 and 35.

“Hungry, thirsty, tired, deformed or diseased cattle should never be yoked to the plough.¹”

“Plough-oxen may be employed for the whole day when they are 8 strong per plough. If the number of oxen yoked to one plough is 6, they should not be engaged for more than three quarters of the day. If the number is 4,—more than half the day and if the number is 2,—more than one quarter of the day only.”²

Atri, Parāśara, Āpastamba and others say “one who yokes 8 oxen to a plough is a pious man. One who yokes 6, is just a business-man. Cruel are those who employ 4 and those who employ 2 are but beef-eaters.”³

In the Kṛṣi-Saṁgraha again we find such prohibitions as that one should not give his cow's dung to others on Tuesdays, Saturdays and Sundays, and that cow's urine should never be used for cleansing filth, for such acts are supposed to be harmful to cattle.⁴

Gautama in IX, 23, enjoins that a cow suckling her calf must not be interrupted.⁵ Baudhāyana in II, 3, 6, 13 says that the rope to which a calf is tied must not be stepped over; and in the Manu Saṁhitā, IV, 162, we find the injunction that cows must on no account be offended. We have already seen that any act of violence against the bovine species in general was highly condemned.⁶ The Arthaśāstra in Bk. II, chapter XXVI, explicitly lays down the rule that (वत्सो वृषो धेनु श्वेषामवध्याः) a calf, a bull or

1 The Parāśara Saṁhitā II, 4.

Cf. “कृषिं तादृशीं कुर्याद्यथा वाहान् न पीडयेत् ॥”
(The Kṛṣi Saṁ. 81).

2 द्विगवं वाहयेत् पादं मध्याह्नं तु चतुर्गवं
षड्गवं तु त्रिपादोक्तपूर्णाहस्तष्टभिः स्मृतः ॥ (The Atri Saṁ.).

3 “हलमष्टगवं धर्म्यं षड्गवं व्यवसायिनां ।
चतुर्गवं वृशंस्तानां द्विगवं गवाशिनाम् ॥ (The Kṛṣi Saṁ., 95).

Cf. Āp. I, 23; also the Agni-Pur. ch. CXLII, 4.

4 Verses 90 and 91.

5 See also Manu IV, 59; Āp. I, 31, 10, 18; Vasiṣṭha XII, 33 and Viṣṇu LXIII, 2.

6 The Indo- Iranians also deprecated all violence against the cattle.
See the Zend-Avesta, Yasna XII, 2.

a milch-cow shall not be slaughtered, and in Bk. II, ch. XXIX, says, “पशुविक्रेता पादिकं रूपं दद्यात्” (i. e. he who sells a cow shall pay to the king $\frac{1}{4}$ the value of the cow. (Dadistan-i-dinik in ch. LIII while referring to the sale of cattle for slaughter and foreign eating, enforces certain restrictions to the sale so that the national interest might not suffer.)).

Cattle constituted a part of national wealth and for their protection and prosperity, was also invoked supernatural aid upon which the Ancients partially relied. In hymn 31, Bk. II of the Atharvaveda we find a charm for the prosperity of cattle and in hymn 14, Bk. III, a charm against worms in cattle-shed. Again, the Grhyasūtras describe a ceremony to be performed when the cows were sick and also a sacrifice called Sulagava sacrifice for averting plague in cattle. The Kṛṣisaṃgraha also describes an annual ceremony¹ which was believed to keep cattle hale and hearty. It was to come off on the first day of the full-noon in the month of *Kārtika*, when a nice healthy bull was painted with sandal and *kuṅkuma* paste and led round the village with the accompaniment of dance, and music. Cattle were all rubbed with a mixture of oil, tumeric and *kuṅkuma* powder, their bodies marked with a piece of hot iron and the hair at their tails and ears clipped.

In actual diseases of cattle, we find the following prescriptions in the books.

“Oil prepared from a decoction of *śṛṅgavera* (ginger), *valā* (sida cordifolia), powdered *māṃsa* (pulp of fruits) and *makṣika* (bee's wax) together with *saindhava* salt (rock salt) should be administered in diseases affecting the horns of cattle. In a case of otalgia, oil boiled with the essence of *manjista* (madder), *asafoetida* and *saindhava* salt would prove an infallible remedy. A plaster composed of the roots of *silva* (oëgle marmelos), *apāmārga* (achyranthes aspera), *dhāḍakī* (grislea tomentosa), *patalā* (rottleria tinctoria) and *kutaja* (wrightia antidysenterica) applied over the gums would prove beneficial to a case of tooth-ache. Drugs mentioned under the preceding malady boiled with

1 See the Kṛṣi-Saṃgraha, 98-102.

an adequate quantity of clarified butter, should be used in diseases affecting cavity of the mouth. The same mixed with *saindhava* salt should be prescribed in diseases of the tongue. In sore-throat, carditis, lumbago, rheumatic complaints in general, and in general atrophy of the muscles, the remedy should consist of the essence of the two kinds of tumeric and the drugs known as *triphalā* (the three myrobalams). The expressed juice of *triphalā* and *ghṛtamitra* (a medicinal plant, the scum of its infusion resembling clarified butter) should be mixed with the drink of a cow ; while *pāṭhā* (?) and the two sorts of *haridrā* (tumeric) should be deemed beneficial to a cow suffering from an attack of acute dysentery. In all diseases of the digestive organs as well as in maladies affecting the pulmonary capillaries and in cough and asthma, the expressed juice of *śṛṅgavera* and *bhārgī* (cleridendrum siphonanthus) should be administered. Broken bones will be set right by a plaster of salt and expressed juice of *priaṅgu* (panicum italicum); while oil which is a good antidote of a deranged state of the humour of wind, would successfully cope with any sort of bilious distemper of a cow, if prepared and boiled with the drug known as *madhujasti* (the root of *abras precatorias*). An attack of cold would prove amenable to the expressed juice of *vyoṣa* (black pepper, long pepper and dry ginger) administered through the medium of honey : while a case of persistent catarrh would yield to a decoction of *Vyoṣa* mixed with powdered *pushtaka* (cakes)".¹

In the Agnipurāṇa, we find the king enjoined to preserve the breed of cattle in the country. The Artha-

Feeding and stock
breeding.

śāstra mentions a government officer called

Superintendent of cattle whose exclusive duty was to supervise cattle in the country, keep a census of cattle and to see that they were being properly reared. The superintendent classified cattle as calves, steers, tameable ones, draught oxen, bulls that were to be trained to yoke, bulls kept for crossing cows, cattle that were fit only for the supply of flesh, buffaloes and draught buffaloes ; female calves, female steers ; heifers, pregnant cows, milch kine, barren cattle - either cows

¹ The Agnipurāṇa, ch. CCXCII, 23-31.

or buffaloes; calves, that were a month or two old as well as those that were still younger and branded them all along with those cattle which had remained unclaimed for a month or two; and registered the branded marks, natural marks, colour, and the distance from one horn to another of each of the cattle.¹ Under the fear of cattle-lifting enemies, cattle owners sometimes kept their cattle under the immediate care of the Superintendent giving him one tenth of the dairy produce.

There were certain restrictions to castrating bulls. Emperor Aśoka issued an order that,

“..... ..*Aṭhamipakhāye*
dasāye puṃṇadasāye tiśāye puṇā
vāsume tisa cātumasisu sudivasāye
gone no nīlakhilaviye ajake edake”²

that is to say, a bull, a goat or a ram must not be castrated on the 8th, 10th, 15th and 13th day of each fortnight, neither on the *Punarvasu* day, on a festival day and in every fourth month of the year.

Brahmanical bulls were inviolable and were objects of special attention on certain festive occasions. They were marked on the right flank with a discuss and on the left flank with a trident. In the *Brṣotsarga* ceremony which was to take place on the day of the full moon in the month of *Kārtika* or *Aśvina*, the bull was set at liberty. It was first marked as above and then washed, adorned and brought near with four young cows which were also washed and decorated. To the right ear of the bull, the mantra “The father of calves” was pronounced and also the mantra “This young bull I give you as husband” was uttered into the ears of the cows. Viṣṇu in chapter LXXXIV directs that the bull must be the offspring of a milch cow having young ones living. It must not be deficient in any limb and it must be one who protects

1 “वत्सा वत्सतरा दग्धा बाहिनो वृषा उक्षानश्च पुङ्गवाः युगवाहनशकदवहा वृषभास्त्रुता महिषाः पृष्टस्कन्धवाहिनश्च महिषाः वत्सिका वत्सतरी पटौही गर्मिणी धेनुश्चाप्रजाता वन्ध्याश्च गावो-महिष्यश्च मासद्विमासजातास्तासामुपजा वत्सा वत्सिकाश्च मासद्विमासजातानङ्कयेत्

(The Arthaśāstra, Bk. II, ch. XXXIX).

For Cattle census, see also the *Ghoṣa-Jātra* parva of the *Mahābhārata*.

2 Vide P. E, V.

the herd. In the Matsyapurāṇa, chapter CCVII, we find the instruction that the bull must have elevated shoulders and hump, a soft and straight tail, tender cheeks, broad back, shining eyes, sharp horns, thick hair on the tail and eighteen nice teeth. Further, the bull must be well-built, roaring like the thunder clouds, high in stature and walking like an infuriated elephant.

The bulls so set at liberty were public property. They were the breeding bulls and that is why the ancients were so particular as to their physical fitness. The Arthaśāstra says that a herd of ten heads of either cows or buffaloes shall contain four male animals.¹

But the manner in which the stock were fed was most important in so far as the breeds depended primarily upon it. In Rv. X, 27, 8, we find that they were fed on barley and corn, and in the Agnipurāṇa, we find a calf marvellously thriving on a food consisting of māṣa (phaseolus radiatus), sesame, wheat, clarified butter, the cream of milk and salt.²

The Arthaśāstra directs that all cattle shall be supplied with abundance of fodder and water, that "draught oxen and cows supplying milk shall be provided with subsistence in proportion to the duration of time the oxen are kept at work and the quantity of milk which the cows supply", and gives an elaborate prescription regarding the nature and quantity of fodder that a bull, a cow or buffalo shall be supplied with.

Thus, "बलीवर्दानां नस्याश्च भद्रगतिवाहिनां यवसस्यार्द्धमारः ; तृणस्य द्विगुणं ; तुलापिण्याकस्य ; दशादकं कणपुण्डकस्य ; पञ्चपालिकं मुखलवणं ; तैलकुडुम्बो नस्यं, प्रस्थः पानं ; मांसतुला ; दध्नश्चादकं ; यवद्रोण माषाणां वा पुलाकः ; क्षीरद्रोणयर्षादिकं वा सुरायाः ; स्नेहप्रस्थः क्षारदशकलं ; शृङ्गिवेरकलं च प्रतिपानम् । पादोनमश्वतरगोखवानां द्विगुणं महिषोष्ट्राणां कर्मकरबलीवर्दानां पायनार्थानं च ।"³

i. e. "For bulls which are provided with nose-strings and equal horses in speed and in carrying loads, half a *bhūra* of meadow

1 And in Sukādum Nask of Dinkard, Bk. III, we find particulars about the time of allowing admission of the bull to the female.

2 "माषास्तिला सगोधुमा पञ्चुक्षीरं घृतं तथा ।

एषां पिण्डी सलवणवत्सानां पुष्टिदायित्वम् ॥"

(The Agnipurāṇa, ch. CCXCIII, 32.)

3 See Bk. II, ch. XXIX.

grass, twice the above quantity of ordinary grass, one *tulā* (100 *palas*) of oil cakes, 10 *āḍhakas* of bran, 5 *palas* of salt, one *kuḍumba* of oil for rubbing over the nose, one *prastha* of drink, one *tulā* of pulp of fruits, one *āḍhaka* of curd, one *droṇa* of barley or cooked *māṣa*, one *droṇa* of milk or half an *āḍhaka* of *surā* (liquor), one *prastha* of oil or ghee (clarified butter), 10 *palas* of sugar, one *pala* of the fruit of *srṅgavera* may be substituted for milk. The same commodities less by one quarter each will form the diet for mules, cows and asses and twice the quantity for buffaloes and camels.”

Every village was again, provided with common pasture lands and wood lands. Common rights in forestry and pasture were very important ; and in all royal grants of villages, special provisions were always made for them. We find Manu enjoining that “ on all sides of a village, a space one hundred *dhanus* or three *samyā* throws (in breadth) shall be reserved for pasture and thrice that space round a town.”¹ In the *Arthaśāstra* (Bk. II, ch. 2) also, the king is directed to make provision for pasture grounds on uncultivated tracts (“अकृष्यायां भूमौ पशुभ्यो विवर्तितानि प्रयच्छेत्”). A part of the fodder was picked up by the cattle themselves from these grazing lands ; and the forest lands which by the way, supplied fuel to the people and saved much of the cow-dung now-a-days employed for the purpose with a consequent loss of available manure, were also available to them.² Herds of cattle were taken out to graze by professional graziers to whose interest and to those of their charge, the law-books gave due attention. The herdsman was to take cattle to pasture when the night was over and take them back in the evening after they had eaten grass and drank water.³ In olden days as now घण्टातुर्य (sounding bells) were attached to cattle, so that in case they strayed in forests, their whereabouts could be known by the sound of the bells. Sometimes grazing grounds lay within the confines of “ forests which were severally allotted for various seasons and from which thieves, tigers and other molesting beasts were driven away by hunters aided by their hounds.”⁴ The *Arthaśāstra* directs that

1 VIII, 237, cf. Yājñ. II, 170 and the Agnipurāṇa, chap. CCLVII, 18.

2 “पशुप्रचारार्थं विवर्तितमालवनेनोपजीवेयुः” (The *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. III, ch. 10).

3 Manu VIII, 230.

4 See the *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. II, chap. XXIX.

"cattle shall be grouped in herds of ten similar colours while they are being grazed (वर्णावरोधेण दशतीरक्षा)". The cow-herds were expected to have a knowledge of the diseases from which cattle might suffer and also the remedies.¹ They were wholly responsible for the safety of cattle while on pasture-grounds, and if an animal was lost due to the negligence of a cow-boy, he was bound to make good the loss.² If an animal died a natural death, he was to surrender the skin of the dead animal, its fat, bile, marrow, teeth, hoofs, horns and bones.³ As for re-muneration of herdsmen, Manu says, "for tending hundred cows, a heifer shall be given to the herdsman as wages every year; for tending two hundred cows — a milch cow; and he shall be allowed to milk all the cows every eighth day."⁴

After the crops had been harvested, cattle grazed on cultivated fields and also on current fallows. The weeds on cultivated lands, plants growing up from the seeds falling before harvest, the stubble and the grasses on field borders and along water channels were also available to cattle in olden days as now. Fodder crops were cultivated and made into silage — an old process in India as the word *sujavas*⁵ in the Rgveda indicates. The cultivators also provided hay for his stock.

In the Rgvedic period, milch kine were thrice milked during the day — in the morning, at noon and in the evening. Dr. Das says "It was usually the duty of the grown up daughters (*duhitṛ*) to milk the cows, as *duhitṛ* literally means the milker" and draws a picturesque and animating scene in this connection.⁶ In a later period however, we find that definite rules were laid down restricting the time of milking to once or twice according as the seasons were later part of winter, spring and summer or the rainy season, autumn and the earlier part of winter respectively.⁷ One

1 "बालवृद्धव्याधितानां गोपालकाः प्रतिकुर्युः ।" (The Arthasāstra, *Loc. cit.*)

2 Manu VIII, 232; The Arthasāstra, *Loc. cit.*

3 The Arthasāstrā, *Loc. cit.*

4 VIII, 231.

5 Rv. VI, 28. 7; VII, 99, 3.

6 Vide Rgvedic culture, p. 123.

7 "वर्षाशरद्धेमन्तानुभयतः कालं दुह्युः

शिशिरवसन्तग्रीष्मानेक कालम् ।" (The Arthasāstra, Bk. II. ch. XXX.)

drona of cow's milk was known to yield one *prastha* of butter and that of buffalo milk one seventh *prastha* more ; and the purity of milk was ascertained by churning. The Arthasāstra says that "increase in the supply of milk and butter depends upon the nature of the soil and the quantity or quality of fodder and water (भूमितृणोदकविशेषात् क्षीरघृतवृद्धिर्भवति ।)." ¹ And to increase the supply of milk, the Agnipurāṇa instructs to give the cow morsels composed of the severed sticks of *aśvagandhā* (*physalis flexuosa* lin) and sesame.²

Thus, it may well be surmised that in ancient days, cattle breeds were fine, milch kine more productive and plough-cattle more efficient than they are generally in modern days.

There has now been a general deterioration in the cattle breeds of India. We must seek for its cause in the Conclusion. decrease in the grazing area, the poverty and ignorance of the cultivator and many other factors that are practically outside control under the present circumstances.

The Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture (1928) records many witnesses advocating extension of grazing areas, but finding no possibility of additions to existing grazing grounds suggests concentrating on increasing the productivity. But, poverty of cultivators stands seriously on the way of the suggestion being carried into effect. Majority of the cultivators do not get sufficiently for their own subsistence -- though by the way, production is by no means insufficient for local demand, and are circumstanced to use for their own personal consumption maize, *bajra*, *jwar* etc., which in olden days were more exclusively used as fodder. One has not got to go far, but only take a trip to the Santhal Parganās and the rural areas of the district of Monghyr to see that cultivators at those places do actually use as their food the fodder crops of cattle. How then, can they be expected to improve the rations of cattle when they are denied facilities to do that of their own? We shall have occasion to show in a later communication, how this fact and similar others

1 *Loc. cit.*

2 See chapter CXXII, verse 35.

tend to ascribe to famine in ancient India a meaning somewhat different from what is associated with famine in modern days.

In ancient days, cattle tending was one of the items of *vārtā* and it was entrusted only to a certain section of the people who thoroughly understood the business. "When Prajāpati created cattle, He made them over to the Vaiśya; and if a Vaiśya is willing to keep them, it must not be kept by any other caste."¹ The Vaiśyas were primarily agriculturists and unlike the present day Indian cultivators, they composed a wealthy section of the community and as such could manage to produce fine breeds of cattle. The Gazetteers in their description of former conditions of India refer to herdsmen as professional cattle-breeders, who understood management of cattle and were so skilful in tending them, that they were able to show good herd. They existed in certain parts of India up to recent times, and to them the Report of the Royal Commission credits the fine breeds that are still to be found in certain parts of the Punjab, Gujrat, Sind, Kathiawar and Madras. The Report observes that there exists a demand from other countries for certain breeds of Indian cattle; and recommends that the government should not prohibit an export trade, though at the same time points out that good cultivation in many parts of the country may now be hindered because of a deficiency of bullock-power and that a stage has been reached in Bengal in which oxen from other provinces or male buffaloes are brought in to assist in cultivation. We frankly admit that we find it difficult to follow the line of reasonings for recommending an export trade of some fine breeds of Indian cattle when there is so much local deficiency and want. To us, it appears that to improve the Indian live-stock, a necessary check is indispensable to export trade.

We are informed that India has a modest external trade in hides and bones. It would be welcome news if the former were tanned hides and more of the latter locally employed for agricultural and other purposes.

¹ Manu IX, 826-27.

SOME NOTES ON THE ĀDI-BHAÑJAS OF KHIJJIṄGA
KOTṬA, EARLIER BHAÑJAS OF KHIṆJALI-MANḌALA,
BHAÑJAS OF BAUDA AND LATER BHAÑJAS OF
KHIṆJALI

BY

CHARU CHANDRA DAS GUPTA, B. A.

The late Mr. R. D. Banerji, Rao Bahadur Hira Lal, Mr. B. C. Majumdar, Mm. Haraprasad Shastri and Mr. Nagendranath Vasu are the foremost among those who have tried to make out a systematic history of the Bhañjas. The second of these authors has made a rather bold attempt at identifying Raṇabhañja of Khijjiṅga Kotṭa with Raṇabhañja of Khiṇjali-Maṇḍala (E. I. vol. XVIII. p. 293ff) on the strength of the similarity of the two names. But a careful perusal of the relative inscriptions leads one to conclude that there were two Raṇabhañjas, belonging to two distinct Bhañja families, one known as the Ādi-Bhañjas, and the other as merely the Bhañjas, one ruling from Khijjiṅga Kotṭa and the other ruling over *Khiṇjali-maṇḍala*. The inscriptions associated with the name of Raṇabhañja are the Khaṇḍadeuli inscription (JBORS. IV. p. 175), the Bāmanghāṭi copper-plate Record (JASB. XL. Pt. I. p. 165), the Singhāra plates dated the 9th regnal year (JBORS. VI. p. 483), the Tasapai-kera Charter dated the 16th regnal year (JBORS. II. p. 167), the Dasapalla Grant dated the 24th regnal year (JBORS. VI. p. 269 ff), the Baudh Record dated the 26th regnal year (E. I. vol. XII p. 325 ff), and the Baudh Epigraph dated the 54th regnal year (E. I. XII. p. 323-5). A careful study of these inscriptions is enough to convince one of the great difference that lies between the first two and the remaining five plates. (1) The first two inscriptions generally begin with the following introductory verse, " Svasti sakala-bhuvan-aika-nātho-bhava-bhatātha-bhiduro bhavo bhavan = Íśaḥ | vividha-samādhi-vidhiṇa sarva-lokaḥ śivya = stu || "; whereas the remaining five begin with

the introductory verse i. e. "Om siddhiḥ || saṃhāra-kāla-huta-bhug-vikarāla-ghora-sambhrānta-kiṃkara-kṛtānta bhinda(na)m bhinn-cāndhaka = āsura-mahāgahan = ātapatram tad = bhairavam Hara-vapur = bharataḥ prapātaḥ ||" (2) The first two records have points of similarity between them, but therein they differ from the other five which, in their turn, have points of similarity among them. This shows that we have here two distinct sets of inscriptions drawn up according to two different drafts. As an illustration of this difference it may be noticed that in the Khaṇḍadeuli and Bāmanghāṭī epigraphs the dynasty is known as the Ādi-Bhañja of Khijjīṅga-Koṭṭa (cf. 'ādibhañja vaṃśe' and 'Khijjīṅga-koṭṭa-vāsi'), while in the Siṅghāra, Tasa-paikera, Dasapalla and two Baudh grants the dynasty is called the Bhañjas of Khiṇjali-maṇḍala (cf. 'Bhañjāmala-kula-tilaka ubhaya-Khiṇjalya=dhipati'). (3) In the first two inscriptions we get the following chronology :—

Virabhadra
⋮
Koṭṭabhañja
|
Digbhañja
|
Raṇabhañja

while in the other five inscriptions we have the following genealogy :—

Śilābhañja
|
Śatrubhañja
|
Raṇabhañja

Thus these two orders of succession totally differ except in regard to the last name. In the former order we get Virabhadra as the founder of the dynasty (cf. āsit kauṭṭāsrama-mahātapo van=ādhiṣṭhāne mayur=āṇḍam bhivā galad aṇḍo Virabhadra-khyaḥ | pratipakṣa-nidhāna-dakṣo Vasiṣṭha muni-cālito nṛ-patiḥ |'); while in the latter we have Śilābhañja as its founder (cf. "durvāra=vāraṇa-pratipakṣa-Lakṣmi-hata-grahāṇa-suddha śrī-Śilābhañja-deva-narādhipatayo bahavo babhūva |'). (4) The non-mention of any regnal year in the Khaṇḍadeuli and

Bāmanghāti inscriptions and the mention of the 9th, 16th, 24th, 26th and 54th regnal years in the Singhāra, Tasapaikera Dasapalla, and two Baudh grants respectively show that the first two inscriptions belong to a ruler quite different from the one who issued the other five grants. (5) In the Khaṇḍadeuli copper-plate epigraph (JBORS. IV. p. 171-177) we get Narendrabhañja, the 'aupayika' son of Raṇabhañja as his successor while according to the Gumsur (E. I. XVIII. p. 293 ff) and Gañjam plates (Ibid XII. p. 295) we have Netribhañja *alias* Kalyāṇa Kalāśa as the son and successor of Raṇabhañja who is mentioned in the Singhāra, Tasapaikera, Dasāpalla and the two Baudh grants. It will be thus seen that not only the predecessors but also the successors of Raṇabhañja differ in the two sets of inscription. All these arguments taken together make a strong case in favour of the theory that there were two different Raṇabhañjas, one ruling from Khijjīṅga Koṭṭa and the other over Khiṇjali-Maṇḍala.

There is again one inscription, viz., the Bauda charter of Kana-kabhañjadeva which calls the kings of his dynasty the lords of Bauda (JBORS. II. p. 368). This is obviously a third Bhañja dynasty we have to take note of. Again the Antirigam plates of Yaśobhañja (E. I. XVIII. p. 298 & ff) show that there was a dynasty of the Bhañjas at Khiṇjali-maṇḍala quite different from the one that flourished here before. Rao Bahadur Hira Lal has unfortunately failed to make such a distinction in E.I. XVIII. pp. 298 & ff.

Thus we find that there were *four different Bhañja dynasties viz. the Ādi-Bhañjas of Khijjīṅga-Koṭṭa, Earlier Bhañjas of Khiṇjali-maṇḍala, Bhañjas of Bauda and Later Bhañjas of Khiṇjali.* Let us now consider these dynasties in detail one by one.

THE ĀDI-BHAÑJAS OF KHIJJJINGA-KOṬṬA

Inscriptions, three in number, are the main sources for the history of the Ādi-Bhañjas of Khijjīṅga-Koṭṭa. They are the two copper-plate Inscriptions from Bāmanghāti, one of Raṇabhañja and the other of Rājabhañja and the Khaṇḍadeuli Inscription of Raṇabhañja. The first two inscriptions are edited by Pratap Chandra Ghose in JASB. XL. Pt. I pp. 161-169 and the last by Mm. H. P. Shastri in JBORS. IV. pp. 172-177.

The Bāmanghāṭi record (JASB. XL, Pt. I p. 165) furnishes us with the following genealogy as stated before :—

Virabhadra
⋮
Koṭṭabhañja
|
Digbhañja
|
Raṇabhañja

In this epigraph Virabhadra, the founder of the dynasty, is known as 'Vasiṣṭhapālito nṛpatiḥ' (JASB. XL. Pt. I. p. 165). The name of the family is Ādi-Bhañja (cf. 'tasy=ādibhañja-vamśe'). We do not know the relation between Virabhadra and Koṭṭabhañja but it is quite clear from the passage " Śrī Koṭṭabhañja-nāmā = khyah putra = stadā = nurūpa-śreṣṭhaḥ śatā = rechchita-carapo Śrī-Digbhañjo yaśo anvītaḥ " (ibid) that Koṭṭabhañja's son and successor was Digbhañja. Digbhañja's son and successor was Raṇabhañja, the ruling prince who is known as 'Khijjīṅga-Koṭṭa-vāsi' (JBORS. IV. p. 176) meaning perhaps thereby that Khijjīṅga-Koṭṭa was the capital of Raṇabhañja.

From the Bāmanghāṭi copper-plate Inscription of Raṇabhañja (JASB. XL. Pt. I, p. 168) we have the following genealogy :—

Virabhadra
⋮
Koṭṭabhañja
|
Ra(?)—bhañja
|
Rājabhañja

This inscription does not contain the name of Digbhañja, who, according to another Bāmanghāṭi record just referred to, is the son of Koṭṭabhañja. According to Mr. N. N. Basu, the son and successor of Koṭṭabhañja is Raṇabhañja (Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhañja vol. I); but a closer examination of the plate shows that we cannot read it distinctly as Raṇabhañja. The utmost we can read is Ra (?)—bhañja, the space for the second letter being left blank. But how are we to account for this ? Raṇabhañja is distinctly called as the grandson of Koṭṭabhañja and not his son. The only suggestion we can possibly make is that Ra (?)—bhañja seems to have been

mis-engraved for Digbhañja. Digbhañja thus has two sons: Raṇabhañja and Rājabhañja. Rājabhañja the granter is called Koṭṭavāsī which probably means Khijjiṅga-Koṭṭa-vāsī.

The third and last record which gives the fullest account and the following genealogy of this dynasty is the Khaṇḍadeuli Inscription (JBORS. IV. pp. 171-177).

Virabhadra
⋮
Koṭṭabhañja
|
Digbhañja
|
Raṇabhañja
|
Narendrabhañja

Here also Digbhañja is distinctly called as the son of Koṭṭabhañja (' Śrī Koṭṭabhañjā = khyah.....gurutejāḥ | Digbhañja = stat-putraḥ). His ' ātmaja ' is Raṇabahañja. Narendrabhañja was the ' aupayikātmaja i. e., the adopted son of Raṇabhañja, his real father having been Pṛthvibhañja (Tasya c = aupayikātmajāḥ Śrī-Pṛthvibhañja-suta-śrī Narendrabhañjadevo bhūtaḥ ' which according to my rendering is :—And his (Raṇabhañja's) ' aupayika ' i. e., adopted son is Narendrabhañja, the son of Pṛthvibhañja i. e. Raṇabhañja adopted as his son Narendrabhañja the son of Pṛthvibhañja). Mm. H. P. Shastri makes him the grandson of Raṇabhañja i. e., the son of his ' aupayika-putra ' Pṛthvibhañja. But as the text stands, ' aupayikā = tmaja ' must be taken to be identical with the compound ' Śrī -Pṛthvibhañja-suta śrī- Narendrabhañjadevaḥ. ' If the reading had been ' aupayikā=tmajasya Śrī-Pṛthvibhañjasya sutaḥ Śrī-Narendrabhañjadevaḥ ', then we could have accepted the interpretation of Mm. H. P. Shastri. We do not know who Pṛthvibhañja was, but he might have been a distant scion of the Ādi-Bhañjas of Khijjiṅga-Koṭṭa.

We can sum up the results of the study of these inscriptions in the following manner. Virabhadra founded a dynasty namely that of the Ādi-Bhañjas. From him was descended Koṭṭabhañja who in his turn was succeeded by his son Digbhañja. This monarch had two sons viz. Rājabhañja and Raṇabhañja. Rāja-

bhañja was probably the immediate successor of his father. He probably died without any issue and made room for his younger brother Raṇabhañja after whom came Narendrabhañja the 'aupayikā=tmaja, of Raṇabhañja on the throne. All these princes had their seat of government at Khijjiṅga-Koṭṭa.

THE EARLIER BHAÑJAS OF KHIÑJALI-MANḌALA

The Earlier Bhañjas of Khijjali-maṇḍala are undoubtedly the most prominent of the different Bhañja dynasties. There is a fairly good number of inscriptions of no less than eight kings of this dynasty from which we are able to construct a genealogical history. The first king of his dynasty has left us no record but a perusal of the epigraphs of his son, grandson and great-grandson helps us to make out his name.

Two inscriptions of Śatrubhañja, the second monarch of this dynasty, are at present known, viz., the charter dated the 15th regnal year (JBORS. vol. II. pp. 432 and the copper-plate record of Sonpur (E. I. XI. p. 99).

The first charter gives us the following genealogy :—

Aṅgati
|
Śatrubhañja

Nothing is known about the relation of Aṅgati with Śatrubhañja, but the latter did succeed the former. Śatrubhañja, highly praised and ruling in Khiñjali-maṇḍala, is simply known as Rāṇaka. As this inscription is the only dated one of this monarch and as the date is the 15th regnal year (cf. ' Vijayarājye samvatsare pañcadaśātane '), we are sure that Śatrubhañja ruled for at least 15 years.

The second record gives a different genealogy :—

Śilābhañja
|
Śatrubhañja

Here the name of the father of Śātrubhañja is given as Śīlābhañja, which was probably the real name of the first king of this dynasty, Aṅgati being only an epithet. This is borne out by the epigraphs of his grandson and great-grandson wherein the name is given as Śīlābhāñja. Śātrubhañja is called the master of 'Ubhaya-Khiñjali-maṇḍala.' This fact shows that Khiñjali was divided into two parts.

We have five inscriptions of the third monarch Raṇabhañja which are all dated : viz. the Siṅghāra plates dated the 9th regnal year (JBORS, Vol. VI. p. 483), the Tasapaikera charter dated the 16th regnal year (JBORS. II. p. 173 ff), the Dasapalla grant dated the 24th regnal year (JBORS. VI. p. 269 ff), the Baudh grant dated the 26th regnal year (E. I. XII. p. 326 & ff), the Baudh grant dated the 54th regnal year (E. I. XII. pp. 323-25).

The first record gives the following chronology :--

Śīlābhañja
|
Śātrubhañja
|
Raṇabhañja

Here Raṇabhañja is distinctly called 'Rānaka.' Like his father and grandfather he was the ruler of the Khiñjali-maṇḍala. The name of his capital was Dhṛtipura. (cf. Śrīmad Bhañjabhūpatiḥ purāḍ Dhṛtipuranāmaṇḍala).

In the Tasapaikera charter the names of Raṇabhañja and of his father Śātrubhañja are given while the name of Śīlābhañja is conspicuous by its absence.

The chronology as given in the Dasapalla grant is the same as that we find in the Siṅghāra plates. Raṇabhañja, the 'Ubhaya-Khiñjalyadhipati' is here too known as Rānaka.

The Baudh grant dated the 26th regnal year gives the names of Raṇabhañja and of his father Śātrubhañja. His grandfather's name is absent. Here he is called 'Rānaka' and 'Ubhaya-Khiñjalyadhipati' with Dhṛtipura as the capital.

In the Baudh grant dated the 54th regnal year we find the name of Raṇabhañja only. Here Raṇabhañja is known as Mahārāja (cf. ' Bhañjā = mala-kula-tilako Mahārāja-Śrī-Raṇabhañjadevaḥ kuśali ' [E. I. XII. Pp. 323-5] in striking contrast to the epithet Rāṇaka applied to his name in the Singhāra, Dasapalla and Baudh charters dated the 9th, 24th and 26th regnal years respectively. Between the Baudh plates dated the 26th regnal year and the Baudh grant dated the 54th regnal year there is no inscription of this monarch. Thus practically we know nothing about this ruler for 28 years. Under these circumstances it may be assumed that during this long period he was engaged in rivalry with kings and rulers, whom he defeated and thus extended his kingdom. He had thus made himself worthy of the epithet Mahārāja which he readily assumed. As the Baudh grant is dated the 54th regnal year, we are sure that he ruled at least for 54 years.

With Raṇabhañja ended the first phase of the rule of the Early Bhañja dynasty of Khiñjali-maṇḍala. The second phase begins with the reign of Netribhañja and ends with that of Neṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa who is the last sovereign of the dynasty. During the first phase the capital was, as we have seen, at Dhṛtipura while in the second phase the capital was shifted to Vañjulvaka which we shall presently see.

There are altogether two inscriptions of the fourth monarch Netribhañja *alias* Kalyāṇakalaśa. Both of them are copper-plates found at Ganjam and are known as the Ganjam plates [E. I. XII. p. 295 and E. I, XVIII. p. 293].

In the first we have the following genealogy :—

Śilābhañja
|
Śatrubhañja
|
Raṇabhañja
|
Netribhañja

Netribhañja, who bears the epithet Kalyāṇakalaśa (cf. ' Kalyāṇakalaśa nāmā rājā.....Śrī Netribhañjadeva ') was responsible for the shifting of the capital to Vañjulvaka (cf. 'Vijaya Vañjulvakāt').

In the other grant, too, we are furnished with the same genealogical order. We are in possession of two inscriptions of one Vidyādharaḥaḥaṇja viz.: the Ganjam plates (E. I. XII. pp. 296-298] and the Orissa Plates [JASB LVI. p. 159 ; E. I. IX. p. 275 & ff ; Archæological Survey of Mayurbhañja, vol. I. p. 149 & ff].

In the Ganjam plates we have the following genealogy :—

Ranabhañja
|
Digbhañja
—
Śilabhañja
|
Vidyādhanabhañja

This Ranabhañja is undoubtedly identical with the monarch of the same name referred to in the Singhāra, Tasapaikera, Dasapalla and two Baudh grants and the two Ganjam plates of Netribhañja. Here also he is known as ' Mahārāja ' as in the Baudh grant dated the 54th regnal year (E. I. vol. XII. pp. 323-325). We know for certain that Ranabhañja was succeeded by his son Netribhañja [E. I. Vols. XII. p. 295 & XVIII. pp. 293 & ff], but here in this inscription we find Digbhañja as the successor of Ranabhañja and there is no mention of Netribhañja here. The only reasonable way to solve this puzzle tentatively is to assume that Netribhañja died without any heir and that his brother Digbhañja succeeded him to the throne. Moreover as this is an inscription of Vidyādharaḥaḥaṇja there is no necessity of mentioning the name of Netribhañja because he succeeded to the throne as a rightful claimant being the great-grandson of Mahārāja Ranabhañja, grandson of Digbhañja and son of Śilabhañja. Thus Digbhañja and Śilabhañja are the 5th and the 6th rulers of this dynasty respectively. As there is another Śilabhañja in this dynasty, we may call this prince as Śilabhañja II. The capital of Vidyādharaḥaḥaṇja who is thus the 7th ruler of this dynasty is stated to have been at Vañjulvāka (cf. ' Svasti vijaya Vañjulvakāt ').

In the Orissa plates we have the same genealogy, the same capital but the epithet of the king is different. In the first record he is known by the epithet Amoghakalāśa, but in this epigraph

the epithet is Dharmakalaśa. Besides, he was a Mahārāja, and was probably a powerful king (cf. ' Bhañjāmala kulatilakaḥ mahārāja Śrī Vidyādharaḥ Bhañjaḥ ').

There is only one epigraph of Netabhañja, the successor of Vidyādharaḥ Bhañja, and the 8th, in fact, the last ruler of this dynasty i. e., the Dasapalla grant [JBORS. VI. p. 276 & ff].

The record gives the following genealogy :—

Digbhañja
|
Śilābhañja
|
Vidyādharaḥ Bhañja
|
Netabhañja

Like his predecessors, Netabhañja had his capital at Vañjulvaka. He had the epithet Kalyānakalaśa and held the proud distinction of a Mahārāja (cf. ' Kalyānakalaśanāma.....mahārāja-śrī Neta-bhañjadevaḥ).

THE BHAÑJAS OF BAUDA

The main source for the history of this dynasty is the Baud charter of Kanakabhañja (JBORS. Vol. II. pp. 367 & ff), which furnishes us with the following genealogy :—

Solanabhañja
|
Durjayabhañja
|
Kanakabhañja

Solanabhañja is the first historical ruler of this dynasty, which had its founder in the sage Kāśyapa of ancient mythology (cf. ' Śrī Kāśyapo nāmo munir-āsin-mahātapaḥ । Tad-Vaṁśe Bhañja-vaṁśo-yam-asmin...śreṣṭha babhūvuḥ kila bhūbhujāḥ), The Bhañja dynasties of Khijjīṅga Koṭṭa and of Khiñjalimaṇḍala had no such claim and it is clear that the Bhañja dynasty of Bauda has nothing to do with the Bhañja dynasties of Khijjīṅga Koṭṭa and of Khiñjali-maṇḍala. That Solanabhañja, the first known historical ruler, was preceded by some rulers is quite evident from the statement ' Bhujaṇamārjjiṭa yeṣāṃ manye Bau-

deśvaradāyaha... Śrīman Solanabhañjo-bhud-varṇse = smin prthvipatiḥ. ' The kings whose names are not mentioned might have been insignificant rulers. Solanabhañja retired to Bārāṇasī after ruling for sometime. He was succeeded by his son Durjayabhañja who was difficult to be defeated in war. (cf. ' Śrīman Durjayabhañje = tat = bhut = tatputra raṇadurjayah '). He was immediately followed by his son Kanakabhañja who was undoubtedly the greatest monarch of this dynasty. He was a remarkable man and a great king (' nṛpasattamah '). A master in the art of killing and subduing his enemies, he was like the creator of the world. ' In his faculty of creation he was like the creator of the world ; he was like the god Viṣṇu in his vikrama ; in his fierceness he was like the god Rudra ; in his prowess he was like the god Indra or Sunāsira ; he was amiable like Soma or the moon ; in his strength he was like the god Mārut ; in wealth he was like Dhanada or Kuvera ; in the grace of his person he was like the Sun ; in intellectual power he was like Dhiṣṇa or Bṛhaspati. Thus he could be favourably compared with the whole body of Suras or gods. ' (JBORS. II, p. 372).

LATER BHANJAS OF KHIÑJALI

The sources for the history of these rulers are the Antirigam plates of Yaśobhañja (E. I. XVIII. pp. 298 & ff) and the Antirigam plates of Jayabhañja (E. I. XIX. p. 43). The former furnishes us with the following genealogy :—

Devabhañja
|
Rāyabhañja
|
Vīrabhañja
|
Rāyabhañja II
|
Yaśobhañja

From the epithet ' Khiñjalideśādhipati ' applied to Yaśobhañja, it seems that these princes were rulers of the Khiñjali country, but it is difficult to establish any sort of connection between this line and that headed by Śilābhañja, though both these families had been rulers of the same realm. The first ruler is Devabhañja who is most probably the founder also (cf. ' nijabhūjavijitasesa ')

virārivarggaḥ '). He is called 'Rājādhirāja' as well as 'bhūpati.' Devabhañja was followed by his son and successor Rāyabhañja who was an expert in subduing powerful enemies in battle (cf. *Samgrāme vairivirapraharaṇanipunaḥ* '). He was succeeded by his son Virabhañja who in his turn was followed by his son Rāyabhañja II who was an uplifter of the prestige of the dynasty (cf. 'Bhañjakulāvadhivardhanabhiduḥ'). The greatest ruler of this dynasty is undoubtedly Yaśobhañja. He was the overlord of the whole Khiñjali country (cf. 'samastakhiñjali-deśādhipati') and took pride in defeating Jagadekamalla (cf. 'Jagadekamallavijayī'), who must have been one of the two Jagadekamallas of the Cālukya dynasty of Kalyāṇī. Regarding Jagadekamalla I Fleet observes, "The successor of Vikramāditya V was his youngest brother Jayasimha who had the *biruḍa* of Jagadekamalla. Of his reign we have the *Miraj* copper-plate grant, and some two dozen inscriptions on stone, which give dates ranging from the month Vaiśākha (April-May) falling in A. D. 1018, of the Kālaynki Samvatsara, Śaka-Samvat 940 (expired), to the month of Kārtika (Oct.-Nov.) falling in A. D. 1042, of the Chitrabhānu Samvatsara Ś. S. 964 (expired)." [*Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts Bomb. Gazet. Vol. I. Pt. II. pp. 435-436*]. Regarding Jagadekamalla II Fleet observes, "Someśvara III was succeeded by his eldest son, who is best known by his *biruḍa*, Jagadekamalla II. Some fifty records of this reign are known. The earliest of them is dated in the month Āṣāḍha (June-July), falling in A. D. 1139. The latest of his records is dated in the month Pauṣa, falling in A. D. 1149 of his twelfth year, the Śukla Samvatsara, which was Śaka-Samvat 1072 current." [*ibid. pp. 456-57*].

The latter i. e. Antirigam plates of Jayabhañja give the following genealogy :—

Virabhañja
|
Rāyabhañja
|
Jayabhañja
|

Virabhañja II (Yuvarāja) [E. I. XIX. P. 43].

This Virabhañja is to be identified with the ruler of the same

name mentioned in the Antirigam plates of Yaśobhañja [E. I. XVIII. pp. 298 & ff). Thus Yaśobhañja, and Jayabhañja are brothers. Most probably Yaśobhañja who ascended the throne after his father, died without leaving behind any male heir and so was succeeded by his brother Jayabhañja who issued this charter in the third regnal year. Thus it is quite certain that he ruled at least for three years. He has mentioned his son Vira-bhañja II as Yuvarāja. There is no inscription of Vīrabhañja, who was most probably the last sovereign of this dynasty.

THE CHRONOLOGICAL POSITION OF THE FOUR BHAÑJA DYNASTIES

It is very difficult to arrive at any definite conclusion regarding the relative chronological position of these four Bhañja families.

The dates furnished by the dated inscriptions of these dynasties are :— (A) The Ādi-Bhañjas of Khijjiṅga-Kōṭṭa-(1) 288 Saṁvat in the Bāmanghāṭi Record of Raṇabhañja, the 4th ruler of this dynasty (B) The Earlier Bhañjas of Khiṇjali-maṇḍala-(2) 15th regnal year in a charter of Śatrubhañja, the 2nd ruler (JBORS. II. p. 432), (3-7) 9th, 16th, 24th, 26th and 54th regnal years in the records of Raṇabhañja the third ruler (JBORS. VI. p. 483 ; Ibid. II. p. 173 ; Ibid VI. p. 269 ; E. I. XII. p. 326 ; E. I. XII. pp. 323-5) (C) Bhañjas of Bauda—there is no dated record of this dynasty ; (D) Later Bhañjas of Khiṇjali—(8) the synchronism of Yaśobhañja the 5th ruler with either Jagadekamalla I (1018 A. D. - 1042 A. D.) or Jagadekamalla II (1139 A. D. - 1149 A. D.) of the Cālukya dynasty of Kalyāṇī [E. I. XVIII. p. 298 & ff], (9) 3rd regnal year of Jayabhañja the 6th ruler [E. I. XIX. p. 43].

Let us here in the first place concentrate our attention on the synchronism mentioned in (8). Jagadekamalla who is said to have been defeated by Yaśobhañja cannot possibly be Jagadekamalla I who reigned from 1018 A. D.-1042 A. D. He was too powerful a monarch to be defeated by a king like Yaśobhañja. Jagadekamalla I is said to have put to flight or broken the confederacy of Mālava and humbled King Bhoja. He also beat the Cholas, the Ceras and the ruler of the seven Konkans. (Bhandarkar—Early

history of the Deccan pp. 140-141); while, on the other hand Jagadekamalla II (1139-1149 A. D.) was an insignificant ruler. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar writes, 'Nothing particular is recorded of him.' (Ibid. p. 156). It is, therefore, safe to surmise that Yaśobhañja defeated Jagadekamalla II, and not Jagadekamalla I and thus he must have lived sometime between 1139 A. D.-1149 A. D. Before Yaśobhañja there flourished four rulers of this dynasty who may be given 18 years per generation. On this hypothesis Yaśobhañja came 72 years after the foundation of this dynasty. So the dynasty must have come to power in *circa* 1067 A. D. (c. 1139-c. 72). After Yaśobhañja there flourished another king namely Jayabhañja, the brother of Yaśobhañja who must have ruled for 3 years because his inscription is dated the 3rd regnal year [E. I. XIX. p. 43]. By attributing 18 years to each generation we must add 36 years to c. 1139 A. D. for the reigns of Yaśobhañja and Jayabhañja. Thus we get c. 1175 A. D. as the last date for this dynasty (1139+36).

If the date of the foundation of the Later Bhañja dynasty be c. 1067 A. D., then the last year of the last king of the Earlier Bhañja dynasty must be sometime before c. 1067 A. D. We should allow an interval of 10 years at least between the closing year of this dynasty and the year of the foundation of the later Bhañja dynasty.

We know for certain that Śatrubhañja the 2nd ruler and Raṇabhañja the third ruler of this dynasty must have ruled for 15 and 54 years respectively as their inscriptions show; but we do not know anything positively for the other 6 rulers of this dynasty. Giving 18 years per generation to these 8 rulers we get 144 years. If we take c. 1057 A. D. as the last year of the last king of this dynasty, we get c. 912 A. D. as the year of the foundation of this dynasty (c. 1057-144).

Regarding the date of the Ādi-Bhañja rulers of Khijjiṅga-Koṭṭa we should note the 288 Saṃvat year referred to in the Bāmanghāṭi copper-plate of Raṇabhañja (JASB. XL. Pt. I. p. 165). This year cannot belong to any era of the Bhañjas, for his brother Rājabhañja and other rulers of this dynasty never used this unknown Saṃvat. In order to get a clue to the finding out of this date, we should refer to the activities of the Kings of

Southern India about this period which cannot go much earlier than the tenth century A. D. as it appears from the palæography of the records. During this period the Chōla rulers constantly invaded Orissa. Though they did not lay a firm hold upon Orissa after their brilliant victories, yet it can hardly be doubted that as overlords they exercised considerable influence upon the local chiefs of that province. Thus it is quite natural that some ruler might have used the Chōla Gāṅga era which was founded in c. 778 A. D. The date of the Bāmanghāṭi copper-plate of Raṇabhañja then comes to 1066 A. D. (778+288). If we take for granted that Raṇabhañja ruled for 18 years and that the 288th saṁvat year is his 9th regnal year then we can conclude that he had occupied the throne from c. 1057 A. D.—c. 1075 A. D. He was preceded by Rājabhañja, Digbhañja and Koṭṭabhañja in the ascending order. If we assign 18 years to each reign, Koṭṭabhañja has to be placed c. 1004 A. D. Thus the beginning of this dynasty may be roughly ascribed to the beginning of the 11th century A. D.

In conclusion I desire to thank Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar for suggesting this subject to me and his constant help throughout the preparation of this paper.

JINENDRABUDDHI, KAIYATA AND HARADATTA

BY

DR. K. B. PATHAK, B. A., Ph. D.

It is necessary for the students of the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali to know the relative positions of these three commentators. It may be stated that Patañjali considers that Pāṇini's Sūtra गत्यर्थकर्मणि द्वितीयाचतुर्थ्यौ चेष्टायामनध्वनि II, 3, 12, p. 495 is useless and may be done away with. This view is dissented from by the authors of the Kāśikā and Jinendrabuddhi. The Kāśikā, after fully explaining the above Sūtra, remarks—

(a) द्वितीयाग्रहणं किम् । न चतुर्थ्यैव विकल्पेत् । अपवादविषयेऽपि यथा स्यात् । ग्रामं गन्ता । ग्रामाय गन्ता । कृद्योगलक्षणा षष्ठी न भवति ।

Kaiyata, in his remarks on Pāṇini अकेनोर्भविष्यदाधमर्णयोः II, 3, 70, p. 531 says, in explaining the expression ग्रामं गमी, that the above statement of the Kāśikā is not in agreement with the opinion of the author of the Mahābhāṣya :—

ग्रामं गमीति.....

गत्यर्थं कर्मणीत्यत्र चतुर्थी बन्धेव पक्षे द्वितीयायां सिद्धायां द्वितीयाग्रहणमपवादविषयेऽपि विधानार्थं ग्रामं गन्तेति यत्कैश्चिदुक्तं तद्भाष्यकारस्य नाभिमतमिति ग्रामं गमीत्युदाहरणोपपत्तिः

(b) In explaining the Kāśikā on द्वितीया श्रित (II, 1, 24) Jinendrabuddhi remarks :—

ग्रामं गमीति.....

अकेनोर्भविष्यदाधमर्णयोरिति (II, 3, 70) षष्ठीप्रतिषेधः

Nyāsa, Chakravarti's ed. Vol. I. p. 351. Kaiyata, in his remarks on Pāṇini (II, 1, 24) attacks Jinendrabuddhi thus :—

गत्यर्थकर्मणीत्यत्र द्वितीयाग्रहणमपवादविषयेऽपि विधानार्थमिति कृत्ययोगे द्वितीयैव भवति इति षष्ठ्याः प्राप्तिरेव नास्तीति ये तस्या अकेनोरिति प्रतिषेधं वर्णयन्ति ते पूर्वापरविस्मरणशीलत्वादुपेक्ष्याः ।

(c) Jinendrabuddhi tells us why there is no संख्यातानुदेश in Pāṇini II, 3, 70 ननु च साम्यादिह संख्यातानुदेशेन भवितव्यम् । नैतदस्ति । स्वरितेन हि संख्यातानुदेशो भवति । न चेह तदर्थं स्वरितत्वं प्रतिज्ञायते ।

The above explanation is thus copied by Kaiyaṭa : —

स्वरित्वाप्रतिज्ञानाद्यथासंख्याभावव्याख्यानं चेदमित्याहुः

(d) In his comments on Pāṇini I, 4, 95 अपिः पदार्थ Kaiyaṭa cites the Kāśikā thus :—

तदुच्यते वृत्तिकारैः “ पदान्तरस्याप्रयुज्यमानस्यार्थः पदार्थ ” इति, while he owes his explanation आ पवं नु मन्यसे । नैवं पूर्वममंस्थाः संप्रति मन्यसे इति वाक्या-
रम्भसूचनायाऽऽकार इत्यपरे to Jinendrabuddhi on Pāṇini (I,1,14). Kaiyaṭa also quotes the Kāśikā in explaining the vārtika क्रियासमभिहारे (VIII, I, 12) तथा च वृत्तिकारा आहुः । यां क्रियां कर्ता प्राधान्येनानुपरमन् करोति । तन्नित्यम् ।

Kāśikā, Benares Ed. Part II, p. 464.

Let us now proceed to fix the date of Jinendrabuddhi. In my paper entitled Jaina Śakatāyana contemporary with Amoghavarṣa I, I have proved that Kāśikā quotes Bhāravi

संशय्य कर्णादिषु तिष्ठते यः (Bhāravi III, 14).

Kāśikā I, 3, 23. Benares ed p. 59. Jinendrabuddhi quotes the whole verse and explains it thus :

संशय्येति ।

जहातु नैनं कथमर्थसिद्धिः संशय्य कर्णादिषु तिष्ठते यः ।

असाधुयोगाहि जयान्तरायाः प्रमाथिनीनां विपदां पदानि ॥ १ ॥ इति

अस्य श्लोकस्यायमेकदेश इहोपन्यस्तः । संशय्येति । विवादपरभूते वस्तुनि संशयितो भूत्वा कर्णादिषु तिष्ठते इति । कर्णशकुनिप्रभृतिषु निर्णेतृत्वेनाभिमतेषु सत्सु पक्षान्तरं परित्यज्य तिष्ठते । तदुपदर्शितस्यैव पक्षस्याश्रयणात् ।

This celebrated verse quoted and explained by Jayāditya and Jinendrabuddhi is found on page 44 of Durgāprasāda's edition of the Kirātārjunīya. Bhāravi is thus quoted by Jayāditya and Jinendrabuddhi. It is now well-known that according to the Avantīsundarikathā, Bhāravi enjoyed the patronage of the Eastern Cālukya King Viṣṇuvardhana, who lived in the first quarter of the 7th century A. D. Jayāditya who quotes Bhāravi lived about A. D. 661 and his commentator Nyāsakāra Jinendrabuddhi about 700 A. D. Jayāditya mentions the Vākya-padiya. The Kāśikā and the Nyāsa are referred to by the poet Māgha (II, 112) who belongs to the middle of the eighth century as he is quoted by Vāmana who mentions :

जगत्सुखसभा

and borrows the Nyāsa's explanation of the word सारसंग्रह used in the opening verse of the Kāśikā.

सारं च तत्संग्रहश्च सारसंग्रहः

Lingānuśāsana, p. 9 ; Nyāsa, Vol. I, p. 2.

The following synoptical table gives the chronological relations of the above mentioned authors.

Bhāravi	634 A. D.
Bhartrhari	650 A. D.
Kāśikākāra } Jayāditya }	660 A. D.
Nyāsakāra	700 A. D.
Māgha	750 A. D.

Vāmana, the author of Lingānuśāsana and Prabhācandra, author of the Kamalamārtanda, who quote Māgha.

The most interesting fact that we learn from the above table is that Māgha is posterior to Bhāravi-

It is also necessary to add here that Jayāditya, the author of the Kāśikā mentions वाक्यपदीय as the name of a literary work.

शब्दार्थसंबन्धीयं प्रकरणम् । वाक्यपदीयम् ।

Kāśikā, IV, 3, 87 & 88

This is copied by Jaina Ś kaṭāyana (III, 1, 189) and by Hemacandra (VI, 3, 201). Now Bhartrhari, the author of the वाक्यपदीय, died in 650 A. D. according to Itsing. This Chinese traveller also tells us that Jayāditya, the author of the Kāśikā, died in 661 A. D.

The dates of Jayāditya and Jinendrabuddhi are thus placed beyond dispute. We may now proceed to fix the dates of Kaiyaṭa and Haradatta.

Let us turn to the following passage of Kaiyaṭa on Pāṇini (II, 4, 84).

(a) एकविंशति भारद्वाजमिति । एकविंशतिर्भरद्वाजा वंद्यास्त्रिपञ्चाशद्रौतमा वंद्या इति संख्यावंश्येनेति समासः । तत्र वर्तिपदानां स्वार्थोपसर्जनार्थान्तराभिधायित्वा रौतमभारद्वाजशब्दयोरेकत्वविशिष्टेऽर्थान्तरे संक्रमाद्भुगभावः ।

This opinion of Kaiyaṭa is disapproved by Haradatta who says :—

एकविंशतिभारद्वाजमिति । एकविंशतिर्भरद्वाजा वंद्या इति 'संख्या वंद्येने' ति समासः । तत्र वर्तिपदानां स्वार्थोपसर्जनार्थान्तराभिधायित्वाभारद्वाजशब्द एकत्वविशिष्टार्थान्तरे संक्रान्त इत्यत्रो भुगभावः । नेति वयम् । गर्गाणां कुलं गर्गकुलमित्यादावपि प्रसङ्गात् । तस्माद्भाष्यकार प्रयोगादत्र भुगभावः ।

Padamañjarī, Part I. p. 496.

The gist of the above discussion is that according to Pāṇini यत्रञोश्च II. 4, 64 the compound एकविंशतिभारद्वाजश्च is incorrect but Haradatta says we must accept it as good Sanskrit because it is used by Patañjali. Nāgajibhaṭṭa says that he accepts the view of Haradatta in preference to that of Kaiyaṭa. I shall give some more instances in which Kaiyaṭa is quoted and refuted by Haradatta

Kaiyaṭa says (Pāṇini V, 2, 29)

व्युत्पत्त्युपाय एवतिलानां विकारस्तैलमिति रूढिशब्दश्चायं स्नेहद्रव्यवृत्तिः । तथा च सादृश्यालुकरणमन्तरेणैङ्गदतैलादयः शब्दाः प्रयुज्यन्ते । यथा प्रकृष्टो वीणायां प्रवीण इति व्युत्पत्तिमात्रं क्रियते कौशलं त्वस्य प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तम् । तेन वीणायां प्रवीण इत्यपि भवति ।

This opinion is attacked by Haradatta who says :—

अपर आह । यथा प्रकृष्टो वीणायां प्रवीण इति व्युत्पत्तिमात्रं क्रियते कौशलमेव त्वस्य निमित्तम् तथा च वीणायां प्रवीण इत्यपि भवति, तथा तिलानां विकारस्तैलमिति व्युत्पत्तिमात्रं द्रवरूपो विकारस्त्वस्यार्थः, तथा चेङ्गदादिभिर्विशेषणसिद्धिरिति, तत्तु न रोचयामहे । न हि तैलमित्युक्ते द्रवरूपं विकारमात्रं प्रतीयन्ति ।

Padamañjarī, Benares Ed. Part II, p. 261.

- Kaiyaṭa says (Pāṇini V, 2, 20).

अथवाऽकार्यशब्दे करोतिः क्रियासामान्यवचनः । तेनाद्रष्टव्यत्वाल्लज्जाहेतुदर्शनत्वात्पुरुषलिङ्गकौपीनमस्पृश्यत्वाच्च तदाच्छादनम् ॥ २० ॥

Haradatta says

अपर आह [अ]कार्यशब्दे करोतिः क्रियासामान्यवचनः तेन लज्जाहेतुत्वेनाद्रष्टव्यत्वाल्लज्जाहेतुदर्शनत्वात्पुरुषलिङ्गकौपीनमस्पृश्यत्वाच्च तदाच्छादनामिति. Padamañjarī, part II, p. 283.

Two more instances establishing the priority of Kaiyaṭa to Haradatta are the following. Kaiyaṭa says :—

(a) आख्याग्रहणसामर्थ्यान्नियम आश्रीयते स्त्रियमेव या वा चक्षाते न तु लिङ्गान्तर-
युक्तमपीत्यर्थः

Mahābhāṣya, Nir. S. Ed. Vol. II. p. 291.

अन्येत्वाहुः । आख्याग्रहणसामर्थ्यान्नियम आश्रीयते स्त्रियमेव या वा चक्षाते न तु
लिङ्गान्तरयुक्तम् इति. Padamañjarī, part I, p. 266.

(b) In explaining the vārtika आदिकर्मणि निष्ठा (III, 2, 102)
Jinendrabuddhi says तत्रेदं व्याख्यानम् । यदयमुद्बोधधाद् भावादिकर्मणोरन्य-
तरस्या (१।२।२१) मित्यादिकर्मणि निष्ठायाः किञ्च विकल्पयति यद्वाऽदिकर्मणि कः
कर्तरि चेत्यादि (३।४।७) तज्ज्ञापयत्यादिकर्मणि निष्ठा भवतीति । प्रकृतः कटमिति ।

Kaiyaṭa expresses his disapproval of this thus :—

न आदिकर्मणि कः कर्तरि चेत्येतदर्थान्तिदेशनमादिकर्मणि निष्ठायां ज्ञापकम् । अतिः
क इत्यादिना वर्तमानकालविषयस्य कस्य संभवात्तस्यैवैतदर्थान्तिदेशनं स्यात् ।

Haradatta remarks अपर आह । ज्ञापकात्सिद्धं यदयं 'मादिकर्मणि कः कर्तरि
च 'उद्बोधधाद्भावादिकर्मणोरन्यतरस्या' मिति चाह तज्ज्ञापयति भवत्यादिकर्मणि क
इति, नेतदस्ति ज्ञापकं, 'अतिः क' इति योयं वर्तमाने कस्तद्विषयमेतत्स्यात्.
Jinendrabuddhi is here attacked first by Kaiyaṭa and then by
Haradatta.

Dr. Kielhorn's opinion that Jinendrabuddhi is never called
Nyāsakāra and that he has freely copied from Haradatta, is
amply refuted by the express mention of the name Nyāsakāra
found in the followidg passage of Haradatta's Padamañjarī
explaining Pāṇini (IV, 1, 22).

न्यासकारस्तु द्वौ विस्तौ परिमाणमस्येति विगृह्यन् विस्तं परिपरिमाणं मन्यते

Padamañjarī, Benares Ed. Part II. pp. 34-35.

The remarks of Patañjali on the above Sūtra of Pāṇini,

अपरिमाणविस्ताचितकम्बल्येभ्यो न तद्धितलुकि (IV, 1, 22) run as follows :—

इमौ द्वौ प्रतिषेधाबुध्येते । तत्रैकः शक्योऽवक्तुम् । कथम् । एवं वक्ष्यामि । परिमाणा-
न्तात्तद्धितलुकि ङीबभवतीति । तन्नियमार्थं भविष्यति । परिमाणान्तादेव तद्धितलुकि
ङीबभवति नान्यत इति । ततो विस्ताचितकम्बल्येभ्यो नेति । तद्धित लुकीत्येव ।

Jinendrabuddhi attacks Patañjali's view.

नैवं शक्यम् । विपरीतोऽपि नियमः संभाव्येत । परिमाणान्तात् तद्धितलुक्येव भवति
नान्यत्रति । ततश्च द्वयोः कुडवयोः समाहारो द्विकुडवीत्यत्र न स्यात् । तस्माद्वयथा-
न्यासमेवास्तु.

Kaiyaṭa defends Patañjali thus :—

तद्धितलुक्क्येवेति तु विपरीत नियमो न भवति । लक्ष्यानुसारित्वाल्लक्षणस्य । तेन तद्धितलुकि समाहारे च व्याडकीति डीङ् भवति । पञ्चाश्वेत्यादौ न भवति । विस्तादीनां परिमाणवाचित्वात्प्रतिषेधो विधेयः ।

Haradatta, on the other hand, in the passage quoted above in which Jinendrabuddhi is spoken of as the Nyāsakāra, copies the latter's view thus :

नैवं शक्यं विपरीतोऽपि नियमः संभाव्येत परिमाणान्तात्तद्धितलुक्क्येवेति, तत्र कोदोषः परिमाणान्तात्समाहारे न स्यात् द्विकुडवी पञ्चाडकी, पञ्चाश्वेत्यादौ तु व्यावर्तकाभावात्स्यादेवङीप्, तस्माच्चथान्यासमेवान्तु ।

Padamañjarī, Benares Ed. Part II, p. 35.

In the Gaṇaratnamahodadhi, the Kāśikā, Jayāditya and the Nyāsakāra Jinendrabuddhi are frequently mentioned and quoted.¹ But no reference to Kaiyaṭa or Haradatta is found in the work of Vardhamāna. Puruṣottamadeva, the author of the Bhāṣāvṛtti is quoted by Śaraṇadeva who wrote in Śaka 1005. Both these authors mention the Nyāsakāra and Kaiyaṭa, but never refer to Haradatta. Śīradeva, the author of the Paribhāṣāvṛtti mentions the Nyāsakāra, Kaiyaṭa and the Nyāsakāra's commentator Maitreyarākṣita but never refers to Haradatta. On the contrary a passage in the Nyāsa quoted and attributed by Śīradeva to the Nyāsa, is found to be copied by Haradatta.

Under उपपृथपविच्छिन्नपणिपनिभ्य आयः (Pāṇini III, 1, 28) Haradatta says अन्ये तु सार्वसाधुकेप्यायप्रत्ययस्यैवं तुंदादिपाठसामर्थेन विकल्पमाहुः Who are the authors referred to as अन्ये ? Sāyaṇa replies तथा सुधाकरकाव्यपतरङ्गिणीकारश्च विच्छेस्तुदादि पांटाह्लिङ्गात् सार्वधातुकेपि विकल्पमाहुः. This shows that Haradatta is later than Śīrīśvāmī.

Mādhaviya Dhātupāṭha भ्वादि p. 162.

Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita speaks of Haradatta as a modern author,

भाष्यकार प्रभृतिभिर्हरदत्ताद्यर्वाचीनपर्यन्तैः

Praudhamanoramā, Part II, p. 647.

The facts stated above will enable us to assign Kaiyaṭa to the close of the eleventh century and Haradatta to the thirteenth century.

1 Gaṇaratnamahodadhi, Benares Ed. pp. 23, 61, 71, 115, 237.

VIDYĀNANDA AND ŚĀṆKARA MATA

BY

S. SRIKANTHA SASTRI, M. A.

In a recent issue of this Journal, (Vol. XII, pt. 1, p. 84ff) Mr. Pathak opines that Vidyānanda has attacked Śāṅkarācārya and hastens to point out a reference in the *Āptaparīkṣā*, where a Śāṅkara Mata is criticised. Now the object of that treatise is to demonstrate that neither Śāṅkara, Kapila, Sugata nor Brahman can be the Supreme deity, who alone possesses the three attributes of guiding people to salvation (*Mōkṣamārgasya nētāram*), destroying Karma, (*bhēttāraṁ karma bhūbhṛtām*) and of omniscience (*Jñātāram viśvatatvānām*) as indicated in the first verse of *Sarvārtha Siddhi* of Pūjyapāda. Vidyānanda first takes to task the theistic cult of Śiva which says that the Supreme deity though possessing no karmic body itself, is capable of creating *kārmaṇa śarīras* and at the same time remains untainted by karma. Vidyānanda merely uses the term Śāṅkara as an equivalent of Śiva, Śambhu, Mahēśvara etc.

तथा सति स्वं देहं निर्मायान्य देहिनां निग्रहानुग्रहौ करोती ऽश्वर इति केषांचिद्वचः,
तच्च न परीक्षाक्षमं महेश्वरस्याशरीरस्य स्वदेह निर्माणानुपपत्तेः ।

(*Āptaparīkṣā*, p. 16.)

सर्वार्थांतर भूतस्तु शिवः सदेहो निर्देहो वा नमोक्षमार्गोपदेशस्यकर्ता युज्यते,
कर्मभूभृतामभेतृत्वात् ॥

(*Āptaparīkṣā*, p. 38.)

And finally while concluding the whole argument, he says :-

तदेवमीश्वर कपिल सुगत ब्रह्माणं विश्वतत्त्वज्ञतापायत् निर्वाणमार्गं प्रणयनानुपपत्तेः
यस्य विश्वतत्त्वज्ञता कर्मभूभृतां भेतृता मोक्षमार्गं प्रणेतृताच प्रमाणबलात्सिद्धा ।...

(*Āptaparīkṣā*, p. 51.)

It is quite clear that Vidyānanda criticises not the Advaita of Śāṅkara but a theistic creed of the Māhēśvaras partly based on the Vaiśeṣika philosophy. Therefore, great care should be exercised before rushing into misleading conclusions based upon insufficient scrutiny of the material.

Vidyānanda also criticises Puruṣādvaita or Brahmādvaita both here and in his *Tattvārtha Ślōkavārtikālaṅkāra*. And, I think he is also aware of the criticism of Syādvāda in the Brahma Sūtras (नैकस्मिन्नसंभवात्) when he writes

न चैकत्राधिकरणे परस्परमेकत्वानेकत्वेवाविरुद्धे सकलबाधकरहितत्वे सत्युपलब्ध-
मानत्वात् कथंचित्सत्त्वासत्त्ववत् । यदप्यभ्यधायिसत्त्वासत्त्वे वैकल्यं दस्तुनि
सकृत्संभवतः तयोः विधिप्रतिषेधरूपत्वात् ॥

(*Aptaparīkṣā*, p. 36.)

Vidyānanda quotes from Dharmakīrti (*Patraparīkṣā* p. 5 and elsewhere) from Kumārila (after whose *Ślōkavārtika*, he named *Tattvārtha Ślōkavārtika*), from Prabhākara, Uddyōtakara, Kumāranandin (p. 3, *Patraparīkṣā*) and Sureśvara of the *Bṛhadāraṇya-vārtika*. Dharmakīrti has been placed between 635 and 650 A. D. Uddyōtakara, according to Dr. S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa wrote his work *Nyāyavārtika* after the *Vādaśāstrī* and before the *Nyāyabindu* was published (J.R.A.S. 1914, p. 60ff). Kumāranandin quoted by Vidyānanda is probably the one mentioned in the Dēvarahalli grant of Śrīpuruṣa (I. A. II, p. 156 ; E. C. IV, p. 233) dated Śaka 698 (776 A. D.) to the Pontiffs of Pulikala branch of the Eragittūr-gachha of the Nandisaṅgha at Śrīpura.

Candranandin

Kumāranandin

Kīrtinandin

Vimalacandra, the donee (c. 776 A. D.)

A Kumāranandin is also mentioned as the immediate successor of Vajranandin, the desciple of Pūjyapāda of the Balātkāra-gaṇa of the Nandi Saṅgha.

वज्रनन्दि, वज्रवृत्तिः तार्किकाणां महेश्वरः ।

कुमारनन्दी, लोकेन्द्रः, प्रभाचन्द्रो वचोनिधिः ॥

(*Pākṣika pratikramaṇa kriyā* v. 9).

We have to distinguish between two Patravādins if we can trust the evidence of the Śravaṇa Belagola Epitaph of Malli-
ṣṇa. There we have—

Vajranandin ; author of *Nava Stōtra*

Pātrakēsari ; composer of a work on Trilakṣaṇas

Sumatidēva of Sumati Saptaka

Kumārasēna

Cintāmaṇi

Śrīvardhadēva ; author of Cūḍāmaṇi and contemporary of
Dandin

Mahēśvara

Akalāṅka (Coll. Puṣpasēna)

Vimalacandra : whose exploits are eulogised as follows :—

चूर्णी । तथाहि । यस्यायमापादित परवादिशोकः पत्रालंबन श्लोकः—

पल्लं शत्रुभयंकरोरुमुवनद्वारे सदा संचरन्-

नाना राजकरींद्रवृंदतुरजवाताकुले स्थापितम् ।

शैवान् पाशुपतान् तथागतसुतान् कापालिकान् कापिलान् ।

उद्दिश्योद्धृत चेतसा विमलचंद्राशांवरेणादरात् ॥

Thus between the first Pātrakēsari (c. 500 A. D.) and Vimalacandra (c. 720 A. D.) almost two centuries must have elapsed. Probably this Vimalacandra had also the title Pātrakēsari and was different from the one mentioned in the Dēvarahalli plates (spurious ?) who must have lived half a century later. Since Śāntarakṣita (705-762 A. D.) quotes from Tattvārthaśloka-vārtikā-lāṁkāra, and in the same work Dharmakīrti and Uddyōtakara are criticised, it is fairly certain that Vidyānanda Pātrakēsarin must be placed in the last quarter of the 7th and the first decade of the 8th century. Most probably, if we can hazard a guess his real name was Vimalacandra who criticises exactly the same doctrines in his Āptaparīkṣā and Patraparīkṣā as mentioned in the Malliṣēna's epitaph. That there is a real confusion in the succession list as given in the Malliṣēna's epitaph, is further confirmed by the fact that Sumatidēva of the Sumati Saptaka is probably the one represented as the Digambara author who criticises Kumāṛila, by Śāntarakṣita :—

तत्र सुमतिः कुमारिलाद्यभिमतलोचनमात्र प्रत्यक्षविचारणार्थमाह—

(*Tattvasaṅgraha*, p. 379 ; see also pp. 382, 383, 489, 496).

Probably the quotations are taken from *Sumati Saptaka*, now no longer extant. If both the Sumatis are identical, then we have to place *Patrakesari* and *Sumati* later than *Kumārila* and *Akalanka* and contemporaneous with *Vidyānanda* *Patrakesari* and *Vimalacandra*.

This gives the following synchronism which clarifies the situation. Śaṅkarācārya has been assigned by me to the last quarter of the sixth and the former half of the seventh century on other evidence (cf. Journal of Mythic Society XX, April 1930). His desciple was Surēśvara of Bṛhadāraṇyavārtika who knows Dharmakīrti, Kumārila and Maṇḍana - Umbēka - Bhavabhūti (c. 720). Umbēka is mentioned by Kamalaśīla in his Pañjikā (Tattvasaṃgraha, pp. 735, 812). Bhavabhūti was conversant with Vivartavāda championed by Śaṅkara.

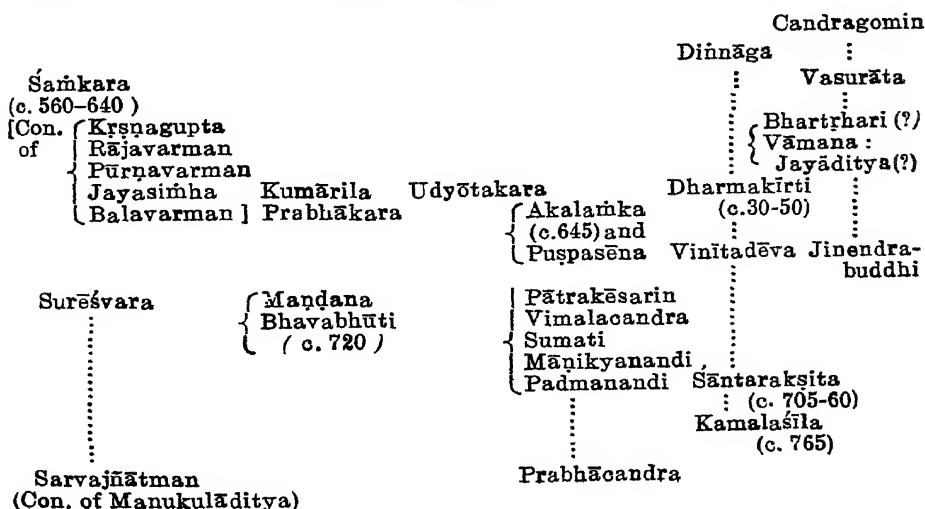
विद्या कल्पेन मरुता मेधानां भूयसामपि ।

ब्रह्मणीव विवर्तानां कापि विप्रलयः कृतः ॥

(*Uttara-Rāmacarita* VI. 6)

Thus we have :—

Advaita. Mīmāṃsaka. Nyāya. Jaina. Buddhist. Vaiyākaraṇa



CERTAIN FRACTIONAL NUMERALS IN GUJARATĪ

BY

N. B. DIVATIA, B. A.

The two words *doḍha* and *aḍhī* represent one and a half ($1\frac{1}{2}$) and two and a half ($2\frac{1}{2}$) respectively in Gujarātī. The derivation of these two words formed the subject of a newspaper discussion recently. I propose to consider the various derivations hitherto presented by Sanskrit and Prakrit scholars. Here they are :—

I. Guj.	Prkr., Māgadhi or Apabhr.	Sanskrit.
<i>doḍha</i>	<i>divaḍḍhe</i>	<i>ardha-dvitiya</i>
<i>aḍhī</i>	<i>aḍhāijjā</i>	¹ <i>ardha-tṛtiyā</i> (?)

This, according to Dr. Hoernle.

The line adopted by him is this :—

Divadḍhe which is found in Weber's *Bhagavatī* 190, 411, must have come from Skr. *ardha-dvitiya*, Mg. *aḍḍha duiye* or *addha-divale* which by transposition of *aḍḍha* and *dui* (or *diva*), results in *divadḍhe*, M. *dāḍha* Guj. *doḍha*.

Addhāijjā (Weber's *Bhagavatī* 426,) is a contraction for *aḍḍhaaijjā* or *aḍḍhataijjā* = *aḍḍha-taijjā* = Skr. *ardhatṛtiyā* lit. half-third.

An alternative form of *taijjā* is *taīā*, whence arises Pr. *aḍḍha-aiā* contracted into *aḍḍhāiā*, P. H. *aḍhāi* (Guj. *aḍhī*).

(Hoernle's *Comparative Grammar of Gaudian Language*. pp. 269-271).

II. Now, turning to *Bhagavatī* (Weber : pp. 411, 425 and 190n.). We find that Weber derives

1 I am afraid the feminine *ardhatṛtiyā* is given through misconception; *addhāijjā* has the final *ā* according to the well-known Apabhraṃśa rule (Si. He. VIII-IV-338) in masculine also. The context in which the word is issued can alone decide the truth. And that is not available. Weber obviously takes it as masculine,

($1\frac{1}{2}$) -*divaḍḍhe* from *adhyardha*,

His steps apparently are : *alhyardha* (Skr.), *adhiyardha* (by *Svarabhakti* I believe), *adiyaḍḍha* (by softening of the *dh*), *diyaḍḍhe* (*divaḍḍhe*) by the apherisis of the initial *a*).

Thus we get *diḍha* (M.), *doḍha* (Guj.) without the transposition resorted to by Dr. Hoernle when tracing the word from *ardhadvitiyam* (Pr. *aḍḍhaduiye*).

($2\frac{1}{2}$) *aḍḍhāijjā* from *ardhatrikāh* (conjectural) or *ardhatṛtyāh*.

III. Pischel (§§450 and 230) traces *divaḍḍhe* to *dvikārdha*. He has his reasons, but they do not satisfy us, especially as Weber's derivation is obviously better. This preference of mine derives force from the number of instances given by Apte (Skr.-Eng. Dictionary) where *adhyardha* means $1\frac{1}{2}$. Here they are :—

(a) एकाधिकं हरेज्ज्येष्ठः पुत्रोऽध्यर्धं ततोऽनुजः ।

(*Manu Smṛti*, IX-117).

(b) शतमध्यर्धमायता = (150).

(*Mahābhārata*)

(c) अध्यर्धयोजनशतान्

(*Pañcatantra* II-18)

(d) also अध्यर्धकंस, अध्यर्धकाकिणीक etc., cited as instances under *Pāṇini* V-i-28- 35.

IV. A very old Gujarātī Grammar (by Dr. Joseph V. Taylor), if I am right in my memory, derived *aḍḍhi* from *ardhadvi* i. e. half plus two, and *doḍha* from *dviardha*, i. e. two but for half, i. e. two minus half. This derivation is, no doubt, tempting, and I was at one time inclined to accept it. But there are other factors which weigh against this view and go to favour the other derivations. True, there are two main objections against the derivation from *ardhadvitiya* for $1\frac{1}{2}$ and *ardhatṛtiya* for $2\frac{1}{2}$, viz.

(a) The transposition of the two members in *aḍḍha divai* which is rather fanciful ;

and (b) the adoption of the ordinals, *dvitiya* and *tritiya* when the resulting sense is that of cardinals,—one and a half and two and a half,—not one and halfth, or two and a halfth, to put it in its absurd form.

Of these two, the first objection (a) is easily disposed of by accepting the more rational derivation from *adhyardha* which, as shown above, has a volume of cogent evidence to support it. *Adhyardha* disposes of, with equal force, the derivation from *dvikārdha* for which Pischel contends, as noted under III above.

The second objection (b) is answered by the following consideration :—

(i) For $3\frac{1}{2}$ Guj. has *ūṭha* found in old poetic literature.

e. g. ऊठ वरसनो वाळको ते पितापै रूपवंत

(*Premānanda, Abhimanyu-Ākhyāna, XXI*).

(2) वरस ऊठ । थयो खोळे तेन रे (*Ibid*)

(3) ऊठ हाथमां सौको रमे जाग जोग पटलामां भमे

(*Akho-Chhappā, 315*).

(4) ऊठ हाथ तरु चदन तणो (*Ibid, Chhappā 427*)

(5) ऊठ हाथजुं गणतां आप (*Ibid, Chhappā 400*)

(6) अउठ हाथना हवडां देह कालिई हाथ ज थाशि तेह

(*Vimala-Prabandha, V. S. 1568, III-84*).

The retention of अ in अउठ (in 6) is significant, being a remnant of अद्ध (अद्धउठ).

This word, in the form of *ūṭhūn*, is used to express the multiplication table in which $3\frac{1}{2}$ is the multiplying factor ; thus एक ऊठुं ऊठे बे ऊठां सात and so forth.

Marāṭhī also has *aūnten* for this table :—

एक औटे औटं ; the *pāḍā* is called *aūṇṭakī*.

This word *ūṭha* is traced back to *addhautṭha, ardhacaturtha* (Skr.)

See Weber's *Bhagavatī*, 425 and also Pischel §450.

Adhyuṣṭa (etym. ?) has been suggested by some scholars as the Sanskritized form of Prakr. *addhutṭha*. But obviously it is a fanciful coining ; *ardha-caturtha* being the legitimate source.

Apte quotes from *Ananda-Laharī* :—

अवाप्य स्वां भूमिं भुजगनिभमध्युष्टवलयं । स्वमात्मानं कृत्वा

Where अद्युष्ट is to be taken to mean 'coiled up $3\frac{1}{2}$ times ; where the sense of a coil is but a reflex of the idea in वलय ; अद्युष्ट

being simply $3\frac{1}{2}$. This fact does not conflict with the view that, after all, *adhyuṣṭa* is a false coinage.

Similarly, Hoernle (p. 270) gives the lineage :—

ardhapancama, *aḍḍhavañcau*, *aḍḍhañcau*, *P. dhauncā*, *W. H. dhauncā*.

Guj. has *dhicā* for the multiplication table with $4\frac{1}{2}$ as the multiplying factor. *Ardhapañcama* = $4\frac{1}{2}$.

Thus we have *ardha-trītiya*, *ardha-caturtha*, *ardha-pañcama* to express $2\frac{1}{2}$, $3\frac{1}{2}$, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ respectively.

(ii) This idiom which has the next high ordinal after *ardha* to denote the number below it plus half is an old one. Thus :

(a) श्रावण्यां प्रौष्ठपद्यां वा उपाकृत्य यथाविधि ।

युक्तश्चन्द्रांस्पर्धयति मासान् विप्रोऽर्धपञ्चमान् ॥

(*Manu Smṛti*, IV-95)

(b)¹ अर्धषष्ठान् मासानधीत्योत्तमृजेयुः ॥ अर्धसप्तमान् वा ॥ ११० ॥

Pāraskara Gr̥hyasūtra - Kaṇḍikā XI)

(c) यथार्धतृतीया द्रोणा इत्यत्रार्धद्रोणोऽपि द्रोणशब्देनाभिधीयते तथा च द्रोणा इति बहुवचनमवयवेन विग्रहः समुदायः समासार्थः

(*Kaiyaṭa's Pradīpa* on Pāṇini V-ii-48)

Thus we have a full series of *ardha-saptama*, *ardha-ṣaṣṭha*, *ardha-pañcama*, *ardha-caturtha*, *ardha-trītiya* ; only in the case of $1\frac{1}{2}$ the series is broken, as we have not *ardha-dvītiya* but *adhyardha*, for which there is no help. We cannot sacrifice rational derivation to the worship of mere consistency. Idiom too often rebels against consistency.

Incidentally I may remark that the c in M. *aḍica* can be accounted for only by the ordinal element- °*trītiya*, °*tītiya*, °*tiya* (then *ja* changed to *ca*).

To sum up the results:—

Doḍha (G.) *diḍhā* (M.) are deriveable from *adhyardha*, *adhiardha*, *adhiyaḍḍha*, *diyaḍḍha*; and *aḍhī* (G.) *aḍica* (M.) are traceable from *ardha-trītiya*, *aḍḍhatītiya*, *aḍḍhātītiya*.

¹ अर्धः षष्ठो मासो येषां मासानां ते अर्धषष्ठः तान्

(*Harihara Bhāṣya* on the above)

THE ARCTIC REGIONS IN THE RĠVEDA

BY

D. R. MANKAD, M. A.

The theory of the Arctic Home in the Vedas, propounded so ably by Tilak, has recently received a detailed but vague and partial refutation from Dr. Das, who, in his 'Rġvedic India', has tried to make out a case, with much plausibility, for Sapta-Sindhu, being the original home of the Aryans. In order to support his own theory, it was necessary for Dr. Das to refute all the other theories advanced by various scholars about the original Home of the Aryans. But in refuting the Arctic theory, not only did he disprove the Arctic home, but he persuaded himself in not seeing any reference showing knowledge of the Arctic Regions, in the Rġveda. It is here proposed to examine some points of the refutation offered by Dr. Das, and also to add such fresh evidence as would prove definitely the acquaintance of the Vedic people with the circumpolar Regions.

With reference to the Avestic evidence² offered by Tilak, Dr. Das agrees in Yima's having gone to the Arctic Regions. He writes³: "It is related there that Ahur Mazd called a meeting of the celestial Gods, which "The fair Yima, the good shepherd of high renown in Airyana Vaejo" also attended with all his excellent mortals, and at which Ahura Mazd distinctly warned Yima that fatal winters were going to fall on the happy land and destroy every-thing therein. Accordingly Yima was advised to make a Vara or enclosure, and remove there the seeds of every kind of animals and plants for preservation. Yima not knowing anything about the nature and physical conditions of this new country where he was advised to go, naturally asked Ahur Mazd about the lights both created and un-created, that

1 'Rġvedic India', Second Edition, pp. 379-574,

2 Zend Avesta, Vendidad, Fargard II.

3 'Rġvedic India', p. 572.

were to be found there. To this query, the latter replied that in the Vara, the sun, the moon and the stars 'rose but once a year' and that 'a year seemed only as a day to the inhabitants thereof.' From the tenor of Mazd's reply, it is evident that these physical conditions of the Vara were quite unlike those of Airyana Vaejo which made it necessary for him to describe them in extenso. The Vara, therefore, may have been situated in the Arctic region. but Airyana Vaejo was certainly not". So Dr. Das does see here a reference saying that Yima had colonised in some circum-polar Reign. With regard to this legend of Yima, it is really curious that, neither Tilak nor Dr. Das turned attention to compare these details with the myth of the Rgvedic Yama. In fact, it is not difficult to prove that Avestic Yima is identical with Yama. Yama in Rgveda is the son of Vivasvat and Yima, in Avestā is the son of Vivanghat; and even a superficial knowledge of philology would prove the identification of Vivasvat and Vivanghat." Thus if it can be conclusively established that the Rgvedic Yama was the same as the Avestic Yima, it is as good as proved that the Rgvedic Yama too, must have settled in Arctic Regions. But if it be so, we should possess some evidence in the Rgveda itself showing the connection of Yima, with Arctic Regions. Fortunately for us, the evidence of a very convincing nature, exists in Rgveda. In Rgveda IX, 113, the poet requests the Soma Pavamāna to take him to immortal regions. He says :-

" O Pavamāna, place me in the deathless undecaying world,

Wherein the light of heaven is set, and everlasting lustre shines. Flow, Indu, flow for Indra's Sake." 7

" Make me immortal in that realm where dwells the King, Vivasvan's son,

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- 1 Following authorities accept this identification, though the materials collected here for the purpose are quite new.

Macdonell : Vedic Mythology, p. 8 ; San. Lit, p. 118.

Winternitz : His. of San. Lit., Vol. I, p. 78.

Weber : His. of San. Lit., p. 36.

Rādhākṛṣṇan : Indian Philosophy, Vol. I, p. 85.

- 2 I have followed Darmesteter in the spelling of this name. See S. B. E. Vol. IV. But it is also spelt as Vivanhvant, which makes the identification easier philologically.

Where is the sacred shrine of heaven, where are those waters young and fresh. Flow, Indu, Flow for Indra's sake." 8

"Make me immortal in that realm where they move even as they list,

In the third sphere of inmost heaven where lucid worlds are full of light. Flow, Indu, Flow for Indra's Sake." 9

"Make me immortal in that realm or eager wish and strong desire,

The region of radiant moon, where food and full delight are found. Flow, Indu, Flow for Indra's Sake." 10

These verses that are quoted here, attempt a description of Yama's land. Phrases like "everlasting lustre shines", "where lucid worlds are full of light", and, "the region of the radiant moon" do indicate a region which was blest with uncommon light. These references to perpetual delight and the references, in the above verses, to 'food', 'full of light' and "where happiness and transports where joys and facilities combine," as if, ring an echo of Yima's Migratory account in the Avestā.] Reading in the light of the Avestic evidence and considering that Yama of the Rgveda and Yima of the Avestā were one and the same person, and that therefore, both these accounts must refer to the same subject, these above verses do, very strongly suggest an acquaintance with the Arctic regions.

In Rg. X, 58, the poet says that the spirit that has gone to Yama, "we cause to come to thee again." In this connection there are two verses in that hymn :

"Thy spirit, that went far away to beams of light that flash and flow,

We cause to come to thee again that thou mayst live and sojourn here."

"Thy spirit that went far away, that visited the sun and dawn."

The above references, have two phrases, "beams of light that flash and flow" and "visited the Sun and the Moon" which both savour of an Arctic knowledge on the part of the poet. "Beams of light that flash and flow" refers almost unmistakably to the Arctic Regions. And a region where 'the Sun and Moon set only once a year' may well be called the very abode of the Sun and Moon. Thus the expression 'visited the Sun and the Moon' would be only justified in connection with the Arctic regions.

One hymn addressed to Yama in Rgveda is X, 14, and it provides two or three most definite statements, which would establish the identity of Yama, and Yima. Verse 9 says "Yama bestows on him a place to rest in, adorned with rays and beams of light and waters." Verse 1 describes Yama as one "who travelled to the lofty heights above us, who searches out and shows the path to many." This last statement, implies that Yama led some persons to some regions which were at 'lofty heights.' Now the Vara of Yima also must have been at a high level, just to protect them from the flood. The last quotation also shows that Yama used to show path to many, In the same hymn verse 2 contains the statement "Yama first found for us a place to dwell in; this pasture never can be taken from us." This stanza, then bears the most convincing and doubtless statement that Yama first led some persons to some place and gave them habitation.

Also in RV. X, 10, 3 Yami describes Yama as the only mortal who is saved.

Atharva-Veda, too, preserves this tradition. AV. XVIII, 3, 13, is :

"Worship with sacrificial gift King Yama, Vivasvan's son who gathers men together,

"Yama, who was the first to die of mortals, the first who travelled to the world before us."

1 Verse 1. परेषिवांसं प्रवतो महीरु बहुभ्यः पन्थानमुपस्पशानम् ।

Verse 2. यमो नो गातुं प्रथमो विवेदं नेषा गव्यतिरपभर्त्तवा उ ।

Verse 9. अहेभिरद्विरक्तुभिर्व्यक्तं यमो ददात्यवसानमस्मै ॥

AV: XVIII, 3, 21, is

“As in the days of old our ancient Fathers, Speeding the work of sacred worship, Agni!”

Sought pure light and devotion, Singing praises, they cleft the ground and made red Dawns apparent.”

Also in AV X. 3, 47 manes are described as staying in places full of lustre. It will be seen that the land of Yama and the land of manes seem to be identical here. Just as Yama who saved them from the devastating floods was considered the only mortal, so also, the sages who migrated with them might well be considered as holy and divine in later times.

These statements, taken with the passages in R̥gveda that describe Yama's region unmistakably prove that the main points which were connected with Yima are also attributed to Yama. Yima led the mortals to a protected place of habitation which saved them from the flood: Yama, too, is called to have led them to a place to dwell in. Yima led them to a place where the Sun was shining for six months; thus the place would naturally be called full of light.

Yama's place, in R̥gveda, is called full of light, having everlasting light and so on. All these things taken together, should leave no doubt in the mind of the reader that Yima and Yama are identical and in referring to the abode of Yama, R̥gveda is most positively alluding to the Arctic regions. It is true that this does not prove that the original home of the Aryans was in the Arctic region, but a knowledge of these regions on the part of some of the Vedic R̥ṣiṣ is certainly evidenced here.

If this migration of Yima or Yama happened simultaneously with the upheaval of the Rajputana sea as suggested by Dr. Das, it goes without saying that the above reference to the abode of Yama must be posterior to that event. That would also necessarily lead us to believe that the final fixing of the loose and floating mass of the R̥gvedic poems, in the present Samhitā form, must have been at a date later than the above event. And we think that in drawing these conclusions we are on the safest grounds.

With regard to the other facts of the Arctic evidence, marshalled by Tilak with so much labour and insight, the refutations offered by Dr. Das seem really vague. They are alright inasmuch as they point the rather unwarranted conclusion drawn by Tilak about the Arctic regions being the original home of the Aryans. But otherwise, the evidence brought forward by Tilak, taken collectively leaves a general impression that some of the hymns of the R̥gveda, do describe the Arctic regions. In this respect the dawn theory seems to be the greatest strong-hold of Tilak.

We shall not undertake here to refute the arguments of Dr. Das, point by point, but we shall discuss some of the most important details thereof.

The injunctions given by the Śrauta sūtras, as regards the Áśvin Śastra, seem to us almost conclusive.¹ Dr. Das believes that the recitation was to commence from the evening and to be finished before sunrise. He also believes that a dexterous priest would recite one thousand verses before sunrise. But it is really hard to believe that he could recite all these one thousand verses, hold an animal sacrifice and also finish the recitation of all the ten Maṇḍalas of R̥gveda in one night, even if we allow the whole night to the priest, for that purpose. And for this very simple reason we are inclined to corroborate Tilak's view that this Áśvin Śastra does indicate a knowledge of the Arctic regions, at least the very skirts of such a region.

It is in his refutation of Tilak's arguments with regard to R̥g. VII, 76, 3 that Dr. Das is distinctly in a haste to prove his own point and therefore has blundered heavily. R̥g. VII, 76, 3 is thus : "Tāni it ahāni bahulāni āsan.

Yā prācīnam uditā sūryasya" Tilak translates the verse as follows :—

1 See the Arctic Home in the Vedas, pp. 82-83. But as Tilak says Nirukta and R̥g. VII, 67, 2-3 do suggest that the recitation of the Śastra was to commence just at the rise of the Dawn. See also Das : R̥gvedic India 2nd Ed. pp. 410-413. Here too Dr. Das brings the argument that as Áśvins were expected in the East, R̥v. VII, 67, 2-3 have no reference to Polar region. We have dealt with this point further,

2 See Arctic Home, p. 88,

" Verily, many were those days, which were aforetime at the uprising of the Sun....."

Griffith materially agrees with the above translation. He says :—

" Great is, in truth, the number of the mornings which were aforetime at the Sun's uprising. "

Now, if the translation as given above is to be retained as correct, then there is no go but to accept that it refers to the Arctic regions. This, of course, would not be agreeable to Dr. Das, who, therefore, suggests,¹ invain, some points of escape from the inevitable. The main points from which Dr. Das has to differ are two. He takes, in the above verse, ' ahāni ' to mean ' lights ' or ' splendours ' after Sāyana, and the word ' prācnam ' to mean ' in the east ' after Ludwig, Roth and Grassman. Now even if we substitute these senses the translation would be :—

" Great is, in truth the number of the splendours, which were, in the east, of the Sun. "

Now let us examine the above translation. In order to reconcile the evidently irreconcilable " Great is the number of the splendours " Dr. Das says: The meaning is clear and simple. There is a quick succession of lights from a faint glimmer to a glowing red at dawn time. " Now what one would like to know from Dr. Das is this: would " the quick succession of light from a faint glimmer to a glowing red at dawn time " if applied to the Temperate dawn explain clearly the term ' bahulāni ' ? Are the quick changes of hues, that one may see in the Temperate dawn, so marked that they can be counted by numbers? In fact this word " bahulāni " would be explained only if we suppose the verse to refer to the circum-polar (not to the polar) Dawn, with its rounds of twenty four hours. To an unbiassed mind, therefore, it is quite clear that the verse refers to the circum-polar regions.

But Dr. Das has got another difficulty, which to him seems, insurmountable. He takes ' prācnam ' to mean ' in the East ', and then, says : " As the polar Dawn first appears in the south

¹ See Rg. India, pp. 421-32.

according to Mr. Tilak's own showing this Dawn whose banner has appeared in the east is certainly not Polar but belongs to the Temperate or Tropical Zone."¹ It is true that Tilak has said that at the Polar Region the Sun always rises in the South, and therefore, the Dawn too. But it only means that the Sun remains on the South of the Zenith of the Observer and not that it rises in the South. Therefore in the circum-polar region, the Dawn, would rise not in the South but in the East. It is possible that it may be to the South-East but to an observer, roughly, the radiant rays would seem issuing from the East. Therefore, in the above verse, and elsewhere too (for Dr. Das has tried this futile trick at two or three other places also), the mention that the Dawn is in the East does not detract anything from its circum-polar characteristic. But, as far as the verse is concerned the word 'prācīnam' cannot be interpreted to mean 'to the East' with any plausibility. For the construction of the verse necessitates that we must take 'prācīnam' with 'Sūryasya'. "Yā Sūryasya prācīnam uditā" would be the only plausible rendering and it would yield no sense, if we take 'prācīnam' to mean 'in the East'; for what would be the significance of saying that so many splendours (even taking that meaning of 'ahāni') have arisen on the East of the Sun? On the contrary, this very difficulty of construction forces us to take 'prācīnam' to mean 'aforetime' as done by Tilak and Griffith. One may assign motives to Tilak, but Griffith had no interest in so putting his own construction upon the verse. It is therefore quite clear that here, in spite of Dr. Das, we have an unmistakable reference to the circum-polar Dawn.

Further Dr. Das is trying to explain away the plural used for Dawns in the R̥gveda as referring to Tropical or Temperate daily Dawns. Tilak has thus pointed out the references to the Dawns in plural:² "They are said to appear on the horizon like 'waves of water' (apām na ūrmayaḥ) in vi, 64, 1. They are described as all 'alike' and are said to be of 'one mind', or 'acting harmoniously' in iv, 51, 6 and in vii, 76, 5". These

1 See R̥g. India, p. 421.

2 See Arctic Home, p. 96.

references to plurality of Dawns, are met with by Dr. Das by counter references in the same Sūktas, pointing out that the Dawns appeared in the East. With regard to this point, we have already pointed out that it does not mar the circum-polar characteristic of the Dawn. To Dr. Das, the simile 'like waves of water' seems to suggest 'that the poet saw them rise, one after another in quick succession', and therefore to refer to the Temperate Dawn. Now, probably, the simile does not suggest the motion as in quick succession, but rather the wave-like or curtain-like folds that form a peculiarity of the Arctic Dawn even to-day. Thus this simile is a clear indication of the Arctic *Aurora Borealis*.¹

About the famous reference to thirty Dawns in the *Taittiriya Samhitā*, Tilak's explanation that they allude to the thirty Dawns of the Arctic region, is explained away by Dr. Das with such a weak logical reasoning that we don't propose to do any thing but to quote his explanation. He says²: "The light of the Dawn (he talks of the ordinary Tropical daily Dawn) really appears in waves, one following another, and pushing it forward till there is a general bright glow in the sky presaging the rise of the Sun. The Vedic bards divided these waves into five main waves, each simultaneously accompanied by five other waves. These thirty waves mingling together, formed one huge wave of light which was called the Dawn or more appropriately, the Dawns". We ask the reader to question himself sincerely whether without this absurd and fanciful suggestion of Dr. Das before him, would he ever think it plausible to see in the ordinary Dawn, a motion like waves, and then actually to divide these waves into groups of five main waves and so on. We ask why did the Vedic bards not divide them into groups of six, seven or more. To us this argument seems to be a mere imagination of Dr. Das and that too a very weak imagination.

1 In this connection one would like to request Dr. Das to see one of the drawings of the Dawn made by the western explorers. A mere glance at such a drawing would prove the apt simile used in *R̥gveda*. A good drawing of *Aurora Borealis* has recently appeared in 'The Marvels of the Universe' Vol. 1.

2 See *R̥g. India*, p. 432.

For these thirty Dawns Tilak had pointed out ¹ three verses viz. VI, 59, 6; X, 169, 3; and I, 123, 8, out of which Dr. Das has selected the last one for discussion and remains silent about the first two. VI, 59, 6 says 'Dawns have traversed thirty steps together' Dr. Das chooses to remain silent about these, or perhaps he, with Griffith, would like to interpret these thirty steps to mean the thirty days of an Indian month which, too does not seem convincing. With reference to I, 123, 8 Dr. Das points out a counter difficulty.

The verse seems thus :--

Sadṛśīradya Sadṛśīridu śvo dīrgham sacante Varuṇasya Dhāma
Anavadyāstrimśataṁ Yojanānyekaikā Kratuṁ pari Yanti sadyah.

Here Tilak takes the thirty yojanas to refer to the thirty dawns of the Arctic region. Dr. Das objects to it by saying "the same verse mentions the dawns to be alike to day and alike to-morrow" "Are the Polar Dawns lasting for thirty days all alike?" We admit that the Arctic Dawns are not all alike in their splendours but they are alike in their motion. These Dawns go to the abode of Varuṇa, with a motion "alike to-day and alike to-morrow". This is the meaning of the expression. Therefore there is nothing against the Dawn's Arctic Characteristic. In this connection Dr. Das also says that the simile that the Dawn moves like a wheel means a chariot-wheel; and that a motion of the Dawn from the East to the West is meant. In saying so he pointed out that the bard, though not able to witness the actual motion of the Dawn as going from the East to the West, yet supposes that even after the sun-rise, the Dawn goes on travelling till she is seen the next day at the same place. He quotes ² in support III, 61, 7, which to us does not seem to support it. Here is its translation by Griffith, which shows no meaning as is assigned to it by Dr. Das.

"On laws firm base the speeder of the Mornings, the Bull, hath entered mighty earth and heaven

¹ See Arctic Home, p. 103; also see Rg. India, p. 430ff.

² Rg. India, p. 437.

Great is the power of Varuna and Mitra which bright, hath spread in every place its splendour."

This verse, therefore, never even suggests that the course of the Dawn from the East to the West, even after the Sun-rise was before the mind of the poet. On the contrary the explanation given by Tilak as to why we should always understand, in such a simile, 'a potter's' wheel by the word 'Cakra,' seems to be far more plausible. He says:—"But the first of these two motions (chariot wheel) cannot be predicated of the dawn anywhere on the surface of the earth. The light of the Morning is, everywhere, confined to the horizon, as described in the Rg. VII, 80, 1. No Dawn, whether in the frigid, temperate or tropical Zone can, therefore, be seen travelling, like the Sun, from East to West, over the head of the observer, in a perpendicular plane. The only possible wheel-like motion is, therefore along the horizon and this can be witnessed only in region near the pole." This to us seems to be the only explanation of the simile of the wheel-like motion of the Dawn.

But in connection with this Dawn theory, Dr. Das has entirely skipped over one very important point. Tilak has shown that in many places in Rgveda, Dawns are described as first and last. He says:² "The Rgveda often speaks of 'the first (prathamā) dawn, or, the first of the coming (āyatīnām prathamā) dawns. (Rg. 1, 113, 8; 123, 2; VII, 76, 6, X, 35, 4); while 'the last' (avamā) dawn is mentioned in VII, 71, 3, and the dawn is said to have 'the knowledge of the first day' in 1, 123, 9. Now, independently of what I have said before about the Vedic Dawns, the ordinal number 'first' as applied to the Dawn is intelligible only if we suppose it to refer to the first Dawn of the year, or the dawn on the first day of the year, somewhat like the phrase 'first night' (prathamā rātriḥ) used in the Brāhmaṇas (see Orion page 67). The first and the last dawn must, therefore, be taken to signify the beginning and end of the year in those days, and in the light of what has been said about the nature of Vedic dawns in the fifth chapter, we may safely conclude that the first of the dawn was no other than the first of a set or group

1 Arctic Home, p. 106.

2 Arctic Home, p. 176.

of Dawns that appeared at the close of the long night and commenced the year."

These arguments with regard to the dawns, then, do seem to us, to be proving that some of the Vedic R̥sis knew the Arctic Regions.

This is not the place to examine all the arguments raised by Dr. Das in this connection, for that would require far more space than may be allowed here. But suffice it to say that, taken as a collective evidence Tilak was correct and very logical in seeing Arctic references in all the details advanced by him. For example, the Navagva and Daśagva theory coupled with the Gavamayanam, and the Dirghatamas theory and above all the use of plural for Dawns throughout the hymn¹ in Rg. IV, 51, (which hymn also mentions the Navagvas and Daśagvas) are some of the points which, according to us, Dr. Das has failed to refute.

But, if, on a careful examination of Rgveda, references to Arctic regions are found to exist, the theory advanced by Dr. Das has nothing to fear. We really cannot understand why Dr. Das has taken so much pains, without any gain, for not recognizing these obvious references to the Arctic regions, particularly when his own theory would have been quite safe after establishing that these references do not prove an original Arctic Home.

We shall finish this paper by examining some of the inevitable implications of the above discussion. From the foregoing details, it would be fairly clear that we believe that there are references to the Arctic regions in the Rgveda and yet the theory about the original home of the Aryans being in Sapta-Sindhu as advanced

1 From this point of view this is a very important hymn. In the first verse it says now the light comes. In the 2nd it says, now the dawns have come. This sequence is possible only in the Arctic regions. Verse 5 says " With horses harnessed by eternal order, Goddesses, swiftly round the worlds ye travel". Now the ordinary tropical Dawn is never seen going *round* the world. Again verse 6 asks ' which among these is eldest ', which also points to the same regions. This whole hymn seems to have been actually composed on the spot at the Arctic regions, particularly because, throughout the hymn not one instance occurs, where singular is used for Dawns.

by Dr. Das seems to us to be plausible. We take this opportunity to point out that there is nothing that is irreconcilable in the above statement. It only implies that R̥gveda was for a long time being composed and that if some of the hymns have indications of an age, prior to the disappearance of the geological Rajputana Sea, there are also other passages which show a knowledge of the Arctic regions. The statement, for example, that Sarasvatī was flowing in the ocean in the R̥gvedic times¹, is itself enough to prove the vast antiquity of the R̥gveda, showing that it was possible only before the up-heaval of the Rajputana Sea : Probably the above tangle may be explained thus.

If Manu's flood, and therefore Yima's flood and his migrations were simultaneous with the up-heaval of the Rajputana Sea, the verses having a reference to Yama and to Arctic regions must be put later than the above event. In fact this famous flood explains the following almost inexplicable nature of the Indian literature. Upto now it was thought mysterious as to how, the Brāhmaṇas and Āraṇyakas that must have immediately followed the compilation of the R̥gveda, could have lost all continuity of the traditions of that great Veda. It seems to us that after that great disturbance in both the branches of the Aryans (both Indians and Iranians), and after Yama had colonised in the Arctic regions, many of the Aryans again returned to India. They probably brought back with them the memories of an Arctic region. Probably also, the disturbance caused by the floods was so devastating that one or two generations of the R̥sis were completely cut off from the original traditions ; and when after the re-settling of the normal conditions (which must have been at least after two or three generations) the confused memories of the past R̥gvedic ages, combined with the new impressions of the Arctic regions produced the result that we see in the literature of the Brāhmaṇas and the Āraṇyakas. If we allow ourselves to imagine what must have followed the havocs caused by those pralaya-like floods , we will at once see that most of the existing families and tribes were either destroyed or forced to seek new regions as did Yama. In any case, for a time (and that must

¹ Wadia accepts this, see *Geology of India*, 2nd Ed, p. 249,

have been about a generation), at least, there must have followed a complete cessation of all the traditions. Yet the floating poems of the R̥gveda were preserved by the method of oral transmission, though the significance of those mantras must have lost. It is possible that after the conditions became normal again, some of the new R̥sis might have still composed fresh hymns, which would necessarily contain references to their new experiences in the Arctic regions.

It is thus that there is no conflicting element in believing in the theories of Dr. Das and Tilak both. Only, we must confess that Tilak had over-carried the point when he affirmed that these references proved an original Aryan home in the Arctic regions.

KANARESE WORDS IN DEŚĪ LEXICONS

BY

A. N. UPADHYE, M. A.

It is usual with Prakrit grammarians to divide the Prakrit vocabulary into three distinct sections - *Tatsama*, *Tadbhava* and *Deśya*¹. This classification, it must be noted at the outset, is coloured by their bias that the Prakrit languages are mere derivations from classical Sanskrit and the composition of a Prakrit grammar, according to them, consisted in giving a few rules showing where Prakrit formations deviate from Sanskrit and then *Śeṣaṃ Sanskritavat siddham*². So those Sanskrit words which could be imported into Prakrit without any phonetic changes came to be known as *Tatsama* i. e. *Sanskritasama*. Knowledge of Sanskrit was considered to be a preceding factor before the study of Prakrits - so the grammarians did not bother themselves about the explanation of *Tatsama* words, nor was it within their limited scope of Prakrit grammars. So words like *Salila*, *Aṇambara*, *Ārambha*, *Siddhi* and *Bimba* did not come under their purview. It is the treatment of *Tadbhava* words that engrossed their attention. Hemacandra opened in this respect almost a new field by thoroughly analysing the then existing Prakrit Literature and carefully noting all irregularities, sometimes even composing special rules for individual words. This multiplication of rules in explaining each and every irregular word could have been conveniently saved by giving a list of Sanskrit words and their Prakrit equivalents³. For philologists interested in studying the vocabulary of modern vernaculars these *Tadbhava* words - *Maṃjaro*, *Borī*, *Ġāhiṇa*, *Laṭṭhī*, *Fisallo*, *Nhāvio* etc. - are of

1 See Hem. Prk. Vyākaraṇa, i. 1 ; Trivikrama's Grammar, Introductory Verse No. 6 ; Śaḍbhāṣācandrikā Introductory Verse No. 49 ; Śubhacandra's Grammar I. i. 16 and so forth.

2 That is the final stroke of the most of our Prakrit grammarians. See Hem. iv. 448.

3 See Pt. Rishikesh Śāstri's Prakrit Grammar (Calcutta 1883) p. 74.

immense importance¹. For *Tadbhava* words we are in a position to give phonetically cognate Sanskrit equivalents. The *Deśya* section is more interesting. The grammarians admit that the *Deśi* words are not related with Sanskrit words neither phonetically nor metaphorically and they are treated as foreign elements but rendered indigenous by familiarity due to their constant use by classical authors. Hemacandra² proposes to include those words in his *Deśi-nāmamālā* (DNM) which are not treated in his grammar (Siddha Hema³) and which have no recognition in Sanskrit Lexicons and further he warns that a *Deśi* Lexicon is not meant to be a systematic vocabulary of words current in different provincial dialects, the composition of which is almost impossible. It must be remarked that Hemacandra has not abided by his definition of *Deśi* words. Sometimes he has fallen short of and at other times he has overshot the mark. Prakritists³ have scrutinized Hemacandra's work and have come to the conclusion that Hemacandra had included some words as *Deśi* which are really *Tadbhavas* like others given in his grammar. To settle whether a word is *Deśi* or not is often a subjective problem.⁴ It depends on the individual command on Sanskrit vocabulary. So the designation of *Deśi* should not be extended to any word only as an excuse of one's ignorance of the oceanic Sanskrit vocabulary, of the application of the armoury of philological processes and the rules of the newly growing science of Semantics⁵, nor should one be so biased as not to give any chance to Dravidian and other languages of claiming a particular word as theirs and to trace every word to Sanskrit somehow or the other. When we look at Dhanapāla's *Pāiyalacchī Nāmamālā* in the above spirit we find the real *Deśi* words given by Dhanapāla are very few as compared with other *Tadbhava* words given by him. The so-called *Deśi* words often turn out to be *Tadbhavas* according to recognised laws of phonetic corruption. Dhanapāla's work is

1 These words have their counterparts in Marathi, Hindi and so on.

2 See DNM. 3 and 4.

3 See Bhavisayattakahā (G. O. S.). Introduction pp. 65 &c.

4 Bühler's Introduction to his edition of *Paiyalacchī-nāmamālā* (PLNM) (Göttingen 1879).

5 See Dr. Vaidya's paper. 'Observations on Hemacandra's *Deśināmamālā*', J.B.O.R.I. Vol. VIII, pp. 63-71.

mainly a Pāiya-Nāmamālā (a Prakrit Lexicon) and as such he has every scope to include any number of *Tadbhavas* and hence qualitatively his work is bound to differ from the Deśi-Nāmamālā¹ of Hemacandra. The function of Deśi Lexicographers is to analyse the Prakrit-Apabhraṃśa Literature and select only those words which cannot be traced to any Sanskrit or middle Prakritic counterparts phonetically or metaphorically and then give their meaning either settling it from the context, or as received from old teachers (*Gurumukha*) or if possible as current in particular provincial dialect. Dhanapāla admits this when he says .

Kavvesu je rasaḍḍhā saddā bahusṛ kaīhi bajjhaṃti 1

Te ittha mae raiyā ramamtu hiyae sahiyayīṇaṃ ॥ 279 ॥²

Hemacandra gives many genuine Deśi words and it is necessary to trace their origin, however tentative our conclusions might be at present. Dr. P. L. Vaidya, M. A., D. Litt., has published a list³ of Deśi words from DNM which have been preserved in Marāṭhī and its dialects. Dr. Vaidya states in his paper that Pt. Todaramall has traced some 100 words to Punjabi and its dialects but that paper is not published. The moderate ambition of this present paper is to give a critical list of a few Deśi words, from Deśi Lexicons, which appear to have been taken from Kanarese.⁴

Before taking up the topic it would not be out of place to indicate here the relation between Prakrit and Kanarese vocabulary. The geographical limits of Kanarese speech were indeed extensive in the middle ages and certainly it is not an exaggeration when Nīpatuṅga, (814-877 A. D.) the author of *Kavirājamārga* tells us that the Kanarese country extended from the Kāverī to the Godāvarī. Prakrit Literature, especially the Jaina Śouraseni, has a pretty history of its own in South India and we have many Prakrit works composed by Nemicaṇḍra (9th Century), Devasena

1 Published in B.S.S.— but now out of print.

2 See PLNM.

3 J. B. O. R. I. Vol. VIII, pp. 63-71.

4 It is in this paper Dr. Vaidya made a suggestion, " It is however very likely that the old Māhārāṣṭrī might have adapted words from other Indian languages, principally from the Dravidian languages. "

and other authors, whose mother-tongue was Kanarese. So their Prakritic vocabulary can hardly escape the Kanarese influence. Kundakunda (1st Century A. D.), too has written his works both in Prakrit and Tamiḷa.¹ Kanarese was originally only a spoken language and when the Jainas first patronised it in early centuries of the Christian era and wanted to utilize it as a local vernacular through which they could popularise their religion, they found its vocabulary too poor to meet the needs of their philosophical expression. They drew upon the Sanskrit vocabulary but the Sanskrit forms could not suit the Kanarese sound system, so they naturally sought shelter of the rules of Prakrit grammar and after necessary corruptions, they imported these words into Kanarese. The Prakritic influence on the growth of Kanarese vocabulary is an independent subject itself which we will be treating in a different paper. For the present it is sufficient to say that the Kanarese vocabulary is much indebted to that of Prakrit and at the same time it has given a few words to Prakrit writers some of whom came from Kanarese countries. The voluminous Apabhraṃśa writer Puṣpadanta has completed his Aph. Mahāpurāṇa in Mānyakheta² (modern Malkheda) in Karṇāṭaka ; then Trivikrama the author of Prakrit grammar comes also from Karṇāṭaka (his preceptor's name is Arhanandī, probably of Nandisaṅgha which was popular in Karṇāṭaka). It is no wonder then if some Kanarese words have entered into Prakrit Kāvyaś and they are set down as Deśi words by Lexicographers.

Akkā (अक्का)- (*Akkā bahinī* DNM. 6). In that very sense the word is current in Marāṭhī also. But in Sanskrit it means a mother. Considering its meaning then the word can be called Deśi. Sanskritists have suspected that it is a foreign word - Williams Sanskrit Dictionary. Dr. Caldwell³ quotes some Scythian instances where also it means an elder sister. " Lappish *Akke* signified both wife and a

1 See Prof. Chakravarti's Introduction to his English translation of Pañcāstikāya, S. B. J. III.

2 मण्णखेट-पुरवर-णिवसंत- See the concluding portion of his Mahāpurāṇa.

3 All references to Dr. Caldwell are to his monumental work ' A comparative grammar of the Dravidian languages ' 2nd Edition (1875).

grand-mother". Tungusian *Akin'* Finish *Ukko* are very striking parallels. "The ultimate base of all these words" according to Dr. Caldwell,¹ "is probably *Ak* old". To us, the word appears to come from Dravidian stock preferably from Kanarese, where too it is a derivation from *Āke* (a demonstrative pronoun meaning she : *Ake*, probably dative Sg. from *Ā* See Śabdamanidarpanam (SMD.) Sūtra 113, on the analogy of *Anṇa* (now in Kanarese meaning an elder brother) which is derived from the Sanskrit pronoun *Anyā* (other than oneself = brother). For the present we might leave the Scythian affinities and say that the word comes from Kanarese according to the above derivation.

Appo (अप्पो) - (*appo piā* DNM. 6). Indeed a very interesting word. Not only that this word is current in all Dravidian languages but some of the non-Dravidian vernaculars too have this word. Cf. Marāṭhī *Appū-Abā*. Dr. Caldwell gives so many cognate forms from different dialects "The Mech a Būtia dialect has *Appa* for father; Singhalese *Appū*; the Bhotia *Abā*". Caldwell² gives some Indo-European affinities but he has not suggested the original base of *Appo*. We wish to suggest that the ultimate base of this word is Sanskritic while the meaning is Dravidian and probably Kanarese. It can be traced to *Ātman* through Prakrit *Appū*. But how that word came to mean a father? In Kanarese the son is called *Appayya* which is undoubtedly from *Ātmaja* (Skt.). The equation would be like this :—

Ātma-ja = *Appa-yya* = One born from Self (= father).
When we remove *ja* the equation remains thus :

$$\textit{Ātma} = \textit{Appa} = \textit{father.}$$

That the son is born from and represents the Self of the father is a current idea. Sometimes there is a belief that the father takes birth in the form of his son only retaining his body formally. We cannot carry these popular ideas

1 Ibid, p. 454.

2 Ibid, p. 499 &c.

to their ultimate logical issues. They are beliefs and not reasonable conclusions. In Sanskrit *Ātman* does not appear to have been used for signifying father and hence *Appo* = father is Deśi. It is necessary to see whether the ideas noted above are Dravidian or Aryan originally. The Dravidians “ appear to have had no idea of ‘ heaven ’ or ‘ hell ’, of the ‘ Soul ’ or ‘ Sin ’.” Thus it may be suggested that the idea viz. the father is the self of the son, may be originally Aryan. But Dravidians might have adopted it later and as shown above they went backward from the word *Appayya* and got the word *Appa* = father.

Uddano (उड्डनो) - (*Udḍaṇo dīha°* I. 123. DNM.). Compare Kanarese *Udda-ṇna*. *Udda* is from Skt. *Ūrdhva* (ŚMD. gives *Uccaṇ* = *uddaṇ*, Sūtra 263). But the termination *a* (showing possession) and the *āgama* of *na* are Kanarese features of the word.

Uḍū (उडू) - (*Uḍū Trṇaparivāraṇam*, I. 86. DNM). It is from the Kanarese $\sqrt{Uḍu}$ = *Vastra-praveṣṭane* (SMD, List of Verbs). The meaning appears to be first generalised¹ and then restricted.

Ummallo (उम्मल्लो) - (*Ummallo balātkār iti kecit*, I. 131. DNM.). Compare Kanarese *Ummaḷa* = heat, grief. The Kanarese grammarians want to trace it to Skt. *Uṣman*. Or \sqrt{mad} ?

Uḷī (उल्ली) - (*Chulī Ullī*, I. 87. DNM). Cf. with Kanarese *ōlē*. *ō* is further shortened into *u*. Even in Kanarese we find this shortening process *Kōḷu* = *Kuḷu*, *Tōḷu* = *Tuḷu*.

Ūro (ऊरो) - (*Ūro grāmaḥ*, I. 143 DNM). Some scholars think that it is a Dravidian word but there is no reason why it should not be traced to Skt. *Fura* which is changed to *Ura* when it is a second member of a compound— *Śri-pura* = *Sirūra*. Caldwell² gives some Semitic affinities. Cf. Heb. *ār* or *ir* a city. Assyrian *Uru* &c.

1 Dr. Caldwell. Ibid p. 118 of the Introduction.

2 Ibid, p. 493.

Ūlo (ऊलो) - (*Ulo gatibhaṅgaḥ* I. 139 DNM). Compare Kan. √*Uraḷ-Uraḷu-Urḷu-Uḷḷu* and now in modern Kanarese √*Uḷḷu* = to tumble. *Ulo* (Deśī) is from *Uḷḷu*; the conjunct is simplified and to keep up the quantity the preceding vowel is lengthened.

Ettoppam (एत्तोपम्) - (*Ettoppam elatprabhṛti*, DNM. I. 144 and also PLN. 169 where Dhanapāla has *i'toppam*). Bühler suggests that it is a mutilated form of Skt. *etal-prabhṛti*. Cf. K. *Entopp* or *intapp* or *intappa* = of this type, or manner.

Okkia (ओक्किय) - (*Okkiam usitam*, DNM. I. 151). Compare with Kanarese √*ōkku* = enter, dwell. The various stages of the Kanarese form are - √*Pugu* (*Praveśe*) - *puḥku* - *ōkku*.

Oppā (ओप्पा) - (*Oppā sāṇṇādinū maṇṇṇāder-mūrjanam*, DNM. I. 148). Cf. Kanarese *ōppu* = polish, glitter, *ōppu hāku* is always used with reference to the polish of gems. And *ōppu-vajjara* means a shining diamond.

Kalī (कली) - (*Kalī śatruḥ*, DNM. II. 2). In K. *Kalī* = a warrior, a valiant person - So the Deśī word is an instance of restricted sense.

Kāra (कार) - (*Kāram kaṭu*, II. 26). In K. *Kāra* = pungent. However there is the possibility of deriving from Sk. *Kṣāra*.

Kūṁḍio (कुंडिओ) or **Komḍio** - (*grāma-bhoktā*, II 48). Compare with K. *gaunḍa*; the meaning given by Hemacandra is the same as the literal meaning of *gaunḍa* = *grāma* + *unḍa* (√*unṇu* = to eat, to enjoy). This word is current in Kanarese inscriptions in its various forms (See E. C. vol. I, Mysore Ins. No. 17) often used as the second member of compound names such as *Deva-gaunḍa*; at present it conveys the same sense as *Pātīl*.

Kurūḍa (कुरुड) - (= *nirdayaḥ*, II. 63). Cf. K. *Kuruḍa* = a blind man. So the meaning is metaphorically extended.

Kūra (कूर) - (= *Bhaktamiti*, II. 43). Compare K. *Kūḷ* = Boiled rice or food; sometimes *Kūru* also is used which is more current in Tamiḷa Malayāḷam and Tulu.

Kotta (कोट) - (= *Nagaram*, II. 45). In Skt. the word is found in the sense of a fort or castle. In Marāṭhi also the word is used in Sk. sense. Bombay people always say, *Koṭa* = fort. Caldwell¹ suggests that the word is taken in Sk. from Dravidian stock where it is derived from \sqrt{Ku} to be crooked. In Kanarese *Koṭe-kōṭṭaḷgaḷam* is a famous phrase.

Kono (कोणो) - (= *Kṛṣṇa-varṇah*, II. 45). Compare K. *Kona* = a male buffalo. It is the specification of the black colour. The sea is called *Udanvaṇ* where its characteristic of possessing 'water' is specified.

Kolo (कोलो) or **Kulla** (कुल्ल) - (= *Grīvā*, II. 45 and 61). Compare K. *Kōrai-Kōrl* and the current word *Kōḷla*.

Kamcī (कंची) - (= *Musala-mukhe loha-valayaṃ*, II. 1). Compare K. *Kōmce* = the encircling wall.

Khaddam (खड्डु) - (= *Śmaśru*, II. 66). Cf. K. *Gaḍḍa* = *Śmaśru*. The Kanarese *g* often represents non-Kanarese *kh* for instance *Mukha* = *Mōga*; *Vaiśākha* = *Besiege*.

Khodo (खोडो) - (= *Khañjah*, II. 80). Cf. K. *Kuṇṭa-Kūṭa*.² Very often the Kanarese words have no aspirated consonants for instance, *Bhīma* = *Bīma* &c.

Ādo (आडो) - (= *Māyāvī*, III. 8). Cf. K. *Cāde-Cāda* = a male slanderer or defamer. Cf. Marāṭhi *Cāhāda*.

Cikka (चिक्क) - (*Alpaṃ vastu*, III. 21). Cf. K. *Cikka*³ from *Ciru-Ciga* = little, small, young; cf. also *Cikke* = a star.

Dolā (दोला) - (= *Śibikā*, IV. 11). Cf. K. *Dolī- Doli- Dole* = a litter. *Dolā* in Sk. means a swing.

Nesaro (नेसरो) - (= *Raviḥ*, IV. 44). Cf. K. *Nesaru*⁴ (with that old Kanarese spelling *r*) written as *Nesar* also. (Cf.

1 Ibid, p. 457.

2 In Kanarese we find many instances of the loss of nasal:—*Bente*=*Bete*, *Lonta*=*Lōta* etc.

3 We do not find any Sk. counterpart for this.

4 There is no Sk. counterpart for this.

SMD. Commentary on Sūtra 193. Where it is said *Tali taline nesar-mūdidudu*).

Tuppo (तुप्पो) - (= *Snigdhaḥ*, V. 22). Cf. K. *Tuppa* = clarified butter. This word can hardly be traced to any Sk. counterpart. In Tamila we find *Tuppaga*, *tuppu*. The Marāṭhī *tūpa* appears to have been taken from Kanarese. It is usual in Marāṭhī, when a word is borrowed, to simplify the conjunct and to lengthen the preceding vowel whereby the quantity is maintained. For instance *Sapta* (Sk.) = *Satta* (Prk.) = *Sāta* (M.); *Vyāghra* (Sk.) = *Vaggha* (Prk.) = *Vāgha* (M.). Similarly the Kanarese word *tuppa* might have been borrowed and phonetically naturalized.

N(N)andī (नंदी) - (= *Go-vācakaḥ*, IV. 18). *Nandinī* = a fabulous cow, is current in Sk. also. Trivikrama also includes this word in his Deśī list. (See, his Prakrit grammar. Grantha Pradarśinī edition p. 124). In Kanarese this word means an attendant on Śiva and also the bull on which he rides. Śiva or Īśvara, who is a Nandīśvara because of his riding the bull, is originally a Dravidian god and it is only in latter period that he is admitted into Brahmanic pantheon. So the conception of Nandī might also be Dravidian. It is interesting to note that Īśvara is called *Kannaḍiga*.¹

Pālo (पालो) - (= *Jirṇaḥ*, VI, 75). Cf. K. *Pāl* = Ruin, desolation. In Modern Kanarese it is *Hālu* - for the change of *p* to *h* see below under Pāvo.

Pāvo (पावो) - (= *Sarpaḥ*, VI. 38). Trivikrama includes it in his Deśī list (see p. 127 Ibid) but he makes an attempt to trace it to Sk. like this :—*Prāṇi-ghatukatvāt-pāpaḥ*. It is an ingenuous suggestion but we should not ignore so flatly the claims of the K. counterpart of that word. Compare K. *Pāvu*; Telugu has *Pāmu* and Tamila *Pāmvu*. —all these signifying ' serpent '. Modern Kanarese, however uses *Hāvu* — only a corruption from *Pāvu* on the

1 For this reference I am indebted to Prof. Kundanagar.

analogy of *Pālu* = *Hālu*, *Pravāla* = *Havaḷa*, *Pōsa* = *Hōsa* and so forth (See ŚMD. Sūtra No. 258).

Pulli (पुल्लि) - (= *Vyāghraḥ*, VI. 79). Cf. K. *Puli* = a tiger.

Poccam (पोच्च) - (= *Sukumāraṃ*, VI. 60): Cf. K. *Pōcca* - *Pōsa* - *Hōsa* (the last two in Modern Kanarese) = fresh.

Mandi (मंढी) - (= a cover lid. PNM. 233). Probably it is the same as the Kanarese word, *Maṇḍi* meaning a wooden saucer, generally used in North Karnāṭaka.

Marulo (मरुलो) - (= *Bhūtaṃ piśācādi*, VI. 114). Cf. K. *Maruḷ* = an evil spirit, an imp, a demon.

Muddi (मुद्दी) - (= *Cumbitaṃ*, VI. 133). Cf. K. *Muddu* = a kiss.

Rotta (रोट्ट) - (= *Tandula-piṣṭaṃ*, VII. 11). In Kanarese we have *Roṭṭi* = bread. In Malayālam *Rotti* = a special bread from rice flour and coarse sugar.

Vāhali (वाहली) - (= *Laghu-jala-pravāhaḥ*, III. 27 Com.). It can be derived from the Sk. √ *vah*; still it may be noted that it has close affinity with K. *Hōḷe* = a river.

Vilham (विल्हं) - (= *Dhavalam*, VII. 61). It may be traced to the Sk. word *Valakṣa* or *Balakṣa* = white from √ *val* = to go, however, the relation would be remote. But scholars¹ have suspected that even *Valakṣa* comes from the Dravidian stock. Slavonic *Věli* = white is an important affinity. The Deśi form given by Hem. appears to be closely related with Kanarese *Bile* = white. *Beḷli* = silver (from its prominent attribute of whiteness), similarly the planet Venus is called *Beḷli* in K.

Sūlā (सूला) - (= *Veśyā*, VIII. 41). Compare Kanarese *Sūle* = a harlot, a prostitute. According to ŚMD, it is a Kanarese word (See, illustrations on Sūtra 115).

The above list can hardly be claimed as exhaustive and final; it is a maiden attempt of one whose excursions in Kanarese Philology have been few and far between. I want to draw the

1 Caldwell, Ibid, p. 460.

attention of South Indian Scholars better equipped in and more acquainted with Tamila, Telugu, Kanarese and Malayālam vocabularies, and interested in Prakrit philology, to the fact, that there might be many more words (especially Prakrit Dhātva-deśas See Hem. VIII. iv) that are passed under the convenient name of Deśi which in the long run can be proved to have been borrowed from Dravidian languages. In the present list, words like *Nira*, *Mina* which have formed a bone of Contention between Sanskrit and Dravidian languages have been intentionally left off. I am very thankful to my friend Prof. K. G. Kundanagar, M. A., for some of his valuable suggestions in course of the preparation of this article.

MISCELLANEA

I

THE KHAZARS : WERE THEY MONGOLS ?

BY

N. B. DIVATIA, B. A.

In Vol. XII, part II of the "Annals" (p. 119) in the article on "The Origin of the Rajputs," the writer, Mr. Niharranjan Ray, questions Mr. C. V. Vaidya's view that "the Khazars were Mongolian in race". True, Mr. Vaidya emphasized his statement by the word "undoubtedly". Let me hasten to state that I do not accept his theory that the Gurjars were decidedly Aryan in race, and I agree with Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's identification of the Gurjars with the Khazars. But I submit that there are adequate grounds for holding that the Khazars were Mongolian in type, that they had a Mongolian strain ethnologically and linguistically. I am forced to quote myself, but the quotation is nothing but a summarized abstract from the Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. XIV, P. 59 b and c, Ninth Edition and from Gibbon as quoted by Vincent A. Smith (Ch. XXVI of Gibbon, V. A. Smith's "Early History of India," p. 299, Second Edition). I invite attention to pp. 349-350 of the first Volume of my book, *Gujarātī Language and Literature*. In ascribing the sibilant sound of the palatals च-छ-ज-झ in Gujarātī to Mongol influence on the Gurjars (identifiable with the Khazars), I have given the substance of the two sources just now stated (Encyclo. Br. and Gibbon) as under :—

"The origin of the Khazars themselves is still disputed. But they were no doubt an indigenous people of Caucasus, their official titles were those in use among the Tartar nations of that age, Huns, Bulgarians, Turks or Mongols. There is linguistic relation between the Khazars and Bulgarian languages and the Modern Magyar is traced back to a speech current in a tract under Khazar Kingdom in the ninth century. The Khazars were

at one time subject to the Huns. There were two strains among the Khazars; the Khazars and Kara (black) Khazars; the former were fair-skinned and black-haired, and of remarkable beauty and stature and their women were specially famous for their beauty. The latter were short, dark and ugly; they were the Ugrian nomads of the Steppe, akin to the Huns".

(Encycl. Brit.)

"The Huns, as described by Gibbon, were distinguished by their broad shoulders, flat noses, and small black eyes, deeply buried in the head, and they were almost destitute of beard."

I submit that the above considerations, though not absolutely conclusive, are none-the-less of sufficiently indicative value.

NOTES ON INDIAN CHRONOLOGY

BY

P. K. GODE, M. A.

I

DATE OF VICĀRASUDHĀKARA OF RĀṄGA JYOTIRVID- ŚAKA 1687 (= A. D. 1765).

Aufrecht mentions only one MS of a work on Medicine (dealing with the treatment of piles) called Vicārasudhākara¹ composed by Rāṅga Jyotirvid.² It is " Poona 307 ", which is the same as No. 307 of Viś I of the Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute. It consists of 22 folios. Its title as given on the first and the last folios is " आशीषसुधाकर ". It begins—

“ विघ्नेशमृत्युंजयभास्करांबानासत्यधन्वंतरिवाग्भटादीन् ॥
प्रणम्य दुर्न्नामिगदप्रणाशप्रयोगपूगं विविधं प्रवक्ष्मि ॥ १ ॥
अनुभवात्कतिचित्कतिचिद्गुरोः कतिचिदाकरशास्त्रविचारतः ॥
विविधविचारसुधाकरनामकं विरचयामि म्रियन्वतुष्टये ॥ २ ॥
निदेशतः श्रीरघुनाथरायप्रतापमानोज्जगतीश्वरस्य ॥
द्विजादिनानाभिषजां मतानि संगृह्य बध्नामि बहुप्रकारान् ” ॥ ३ ॥

It ends—

“ इति श्रीमज्जगतीतलसकलभूभृच्चक्रचूडामणिश्रीमद्रघुनाथरायप्रतापार्कनिदेशकररंग-
ज्योतिर्विद्विरचितविचारसुधाकरः समाप्तिमगमत् ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥
प्रथितसूर्यविधिज्ञसुतसुधीः । गणितवैयकशास्त्रविशारदः ॥
असुहृदुग्रशुदामयशातनं । व्यरचयद्विविधार्तिहरं मुदा ॥ १ ॥
शैलदंतिरसभूमिते शके मार्गशुक्लरविनायके तिथौ ॥
भूमिन्दनदिने व्यरीरचत् सद्विचारणसुधासुधाकरं ॥ २ ॥

1. Catalogus Catalogorum, Vol. I, p. 570 (a).

2. The Govt. Mss Library possesses a MS of त्रिपुरसुंदरीमहिम्नस्तोत्र (No. 1011 of 1884-87) with the following endorsement on the first folio :—“ जाडजी-
भट्टीयुपनामकनिलकंठभटेन ॥ काश्यां लिखित्वा रंगनाथज्योतिर्विद्वये दत्तं ॥ ” This MS was acquired by the late Sir R.G. Bhandarkar from the Mahārāṣṭra. In my opinion the ' रंगनाथ ज्योतिर्विद् ' of the above endorsement is the same as the author of the विचारसुधाकर.

The chronogram in the last verse viz. “ शैलदंतिरसभूमिर्ते शके ” gives us Śaka 1687 (= A. D. 1765) as the date of composition of the work.

Among works on medicine referred to in the present work are the following :—

अत्रिसंहिता, आत्रेयसंहिता, बृहत्संहिता, सारसंग्रह, सारसमुच्चय, चिकित्सासूत्रसागर, धन्वन्तरिप्रकाश, वैद्यासूत्र, योगतरंगिणी, चरक, सुश्रुत, वाग्भट, भावप्रकाश etc.

Among physicians, whose opinions are cited, are बगाजी वैद्य resident of जुन्नरपुर (folio 14), बलवंतराय वैद्य (folio 15), बाबोभिषग्वर्य (folio 20), and जयशंकर (folio 16). All these persons appear to be the author's contemporaries.

The author mentions his own opinion in the following lines on folio 14 :—

“ इति शास्त्रानुभावस्वानुभूतिगुरूपदिष्टवाक्यानुसारतो जुन्नरपुरस्थितज्योतिर्विद्रंग-
नाथ तथा बगाजीवैद्ययोः संमतमिदं समाप्तिमगमत् ॥ ”

It appears from the facts noted above that the author of विचार-सुधाकर called रंगज्योतिर्विद्रं or ज्योतिर्विद्रंगनाथ was a resident of ‘जुन्नरपुर’ (in the Poona District) and was a contemporary of बगाजीवैद्य referred to by him. He wrote the present work by the order of रघुनाथराय who is described by such epithets as ‘जगतीतलसकलभूभृच्चक्र-चूडामाणि’ or ‘जगतीश्वर’ and ‘प्रतापार्क’ or ‘प्रतापभानु’. It may be that the ‘रघुनाथराय’ referred to here is the sixth Peshawa Raghunathrao who was noted for his prowess (cf. प्रतापार्क or प्रतापभानु). Raghunathrao was Peshwa only for a short time (A. D. 1773-74) and as the present work was composed in A. D. 1765 the epithets ‘जगतीश्वर’ and ‘जगतीतलसकलभूभृच्चक्रचूडामाणि’ appear to be used in the usual laudatory style.

The following reference to the surgical treatment of piles will be found interesting :—

“ केषांचियवनानां समुद्रतटनिकटवर्तिनां मते छेदनमथास्ति तत्कर्मकुशलस्त एव जानंति ॥
तत्परिचित्यभावादस्माभिरुपेक्षितं ॥ ”

The author is here citing the opinions of other physicians regarding the treatment of piles. He states that according to the opinion of some foreign physicians (यवनानां), removal of piles by

surgical operation (छेदन) is a remedy to be adopted, but as this is known only by those experts and as the author himself is not familiar with that treatment, he has passed it over. The adjective ' समुद्रतटनिकटवर्तिनां ' as applied to these यवन physicians leads me to infer that the author here refers to certain European physicians then residing at Bombay or Surat within the jurisdiction of the East India Company.

II

DATE OF " KĀṆKĀLĪ GRANTHA " ATTRIBUTED TO " NĀSĪRSĀHA " — A. D. 1500 to 1510.

Sir P. C. Ray in his list of some of the Hindu works on alchemy mentions a work called *Rasakaṅkāli*¹. In Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* we find such entries as the following :—

कङ्कालाध्याय by अञ्जनाचार्य; कङ्कालाध्यायवार्तिक or कङ्कालायसाध्याय by मेरुतुंग; कङ्कालाध्यायवार्तिक composed by मेरुतुंग in 1386 (Vikrama Samvat 1443)². It is possible that all works referred to in the above entries may have been written on the basis of the original text of *Rasakaṅkāli* by Kāṅkāli. The only MS of *Rasakaṅkāli* mentioned by Aufrecht is " B. 4. 234 " .³ This MS is not available, perhaps being lost in the private custody of its owner referred to by Bühler in his Catalogue. The work, however, appears to be rare. The fact that Merutuṅga composed his कङ्कालाध्यायवार्तिक in A. D. 1386 shows that the work *Rasakaṅkāli* must have been older than Merutuṅga's time by at least half a century.

To add to the above list of subsidiary works based on the original text of *Rasakaṅkāli* we have two Mss⁴ of " *Nāsīrasāhī Kāṅkāli Grantha* " in the Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute. Aufrecht does not record any other Mss of this work

1. *History of Hindu Chemistry*, Vol. II, p. xcvi.

2. Weber: *Catalogue of Berlin Mss*, p. 297.

3. Bühler : *Catalogue of Gujrat Mss*, 1871 — No. 108. The MS belonged to one Acaratlal Vaidya of Ahmedabad and consisted of 83 folios. From the catalogues of MSS of different libraries we find that it has not found its way in any public library.

4. These MSS are :— No. 1055 of 1886-92 and No. 533 of 1892-95.

except these two Mss. In the colophons of both these Mss the work is uniformly styled as “नासीरसाही कङ्कालीग्रंथ”. The question now arises as to the identification of this Nāsīrsāha with some historical personage. In my opinion the following extract from folio 1 of each of these two Mss furnishes the necessary clue for identification :—

- (1) “तिसथी **षीलवीवंश** उद्योतकारी पातिसाहीशिरोमणिमुलताननासीरसाहा
अपे अनुभव करणे के ताई” — (from No. 1055 of 1886-92).
- (2) “**षलचीवंश** उद्योतकारके पातिसाहशिरोमणिमुलतानश्रीनासीरसाह आप
अनुभव करणे के ताई” — (from No. 533 of 1892-95).

“मुलतान नासीरसाहा of “षीलवी” (or “षलची”) वंश referred to as पातिसाह appears to me to be none but Nāsir Shah, Khalji of Mālva, Son of Ghias Shah Khalji who succeeded his father in A. D. 1500.¹ He was succeeded by Mahamad II in A. D. 1510. The “षीलवी” or “षलची” वंश mentioned above is identical with the Khalji Dynasty. The work under reference is written in Hindi and may, therefore, have been written by Nāsir Shah himself or by any person in his employ between A. D. 1500 and 1510, which is the period of Nāsir Shah's reign.

The above conclusion is further supported by internal evidence. On folios 35 and 36 of No. 533 of 1892-95 are quoted in *extenso* some verses from रसप्रदीप² a work on alchemy. Accord-

1. Duff : *Indian Chronology*, pp. 267, 316.

2. These verses read as follows :—

“अथ धात्वादि मार्गो य (मार्गो ?) युक्तान् वदप्रकारान् आह रसप्रदीपे—

लेहदिग्गुणभविस्तदुणत्वं गुणाढ्यता ।

सलिले तरिणं चापि तत्सिद्धिः पुटनौ भवेत् ॥ १ ॥

गंभीरे विस्तृणे कुंडे द्विहस्ते चतुरस्रके ।

वनोपलसहस्रेण पुरिते पुटनौषधं ॥ २ ॥

कोष्ठे रुद्धं प्रयत्नेन गोविटो परिधारयेत् ।

वनोपलसहस्राहं कोष्ठिको परिभिः क्षिपेत् ॥ ३ ॥

वह्निं विनिक्षिपेत्तत्र महापुटमिति स्मृतं ।

.....

सपायहस्तमानेन कुंडे निम्ने तथायत ।

वनोपलसहस्रं पूर्णं मध्ये विधारयेत् ॥ ४ ॥

ing to Aufrecht *Rasapradīpa* has been quoted in भावप्रकाश¹ and hence must be prior in point of date to the latter. Sir P. C. Ray puts भावप्रकाश in the modern period viz. A. D. 1500 to 1600. Presuming, therefore, that the works *Rasapradīpa* and *Bhāvaprakāśa* referred to and quoted from, in the 'present Mss of the *Kaṅkāli-grantha* are identical with those mentioned by Aufrecht and presuming also that the modern period for the works on alchemy as fixed by Sir P. C. Ray is approximately correct, the present work attributed to Nāsir Shah belongs to the early part of the modern period which is practically identical with the period of reign of Nāsir Shah Khalji viz. A. D. 1500 to 1510.

III

DATES OF THE COMMENTARIES ON THE TARKABHĀṢA
OR TARKAPARIBHĀṢĀ OF KEŚAVAMIŚRA BY GOVAR-
DHANA, MĀDHAVABHATTA, BALABHADRA, NĀRĀYAṆA-
BHATTA AND MURĀRIBHATTA.

Prof. A. B. Keith makes the following remarks² regarding the commentaries on the *Tarkabhāṣa* of Keśavamiśra :-

(1) — P. 37 — “ his commentator Cinnabhaṭṭa wrote under Harihara, brother of Bukka I of Vijayanagar, in the first half of the fourteenth century. ”

पुटेन द्रव्यसंयुक्तां कोष्टिकां मुद्रितां मुखे ।
आधोऽर्धानि करंडानि आद्वान्पुरितिः शिपेत् ॥
एतद्भजपुटं प्रोक्तं ख्यातं सर्वपुटोत्तमं ॥ ५ ॥
अग्रविमात्रके कुंडे पुटं बाराहमुच्यते ।
वितिस्तिमात्रके ख्याते कथितं कैक्कटं पुटं ॥ ६ ॥

1. Folio 36 a — The quotation runs as follows :—

“ अथ भावप्रकाशात् यंत्रप्रकारनाह—तत्रैव—
भाडे वितस्तिगंभीरमध्ये निहितकूपके ।
कूपिकाकंठपर्यंत बालुमिश्र प्रपूरिते ॥
भेषजं कूपिकासंस्थं वह्निना यत्र पच्यते ।
बालुकायंत्रमेतादृ यत्रतत्र बुधै स्मृतं ॥ ” —etc.

2. *Indian Logic and Atomism*, 1921, pp. 37–38.

(2) — P. 38 — “ Of commentaries there are those of Govardhana, whose brother wrote in A. D. 1578, Gaurikānta, and Mādhavadeva (before A. D. 1681) ”.

As regards the limits for the dates fixed by Prof. Keith in the case of the commentaries of Govardhana and Mādhavabhaṭṭa I have to record the following data which pushes these limits still further back :—

(i) The Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute possesses a MS of Govardhana's commentary called *Tarkabhāṣā-prakāśa* (No. 278 of 1895-1902), which is dated Śaka 1501 (= A. D. 1579). If a copy of a work is dated A. D. 1579 the original work must have been composed much earlier, say 25-30 years back, if not more. If this argument is accepted the limit suggested by Prof. Keith or rather the chronological whereabouts of the commentary go back to about A. D. 1550, if not earlier. This limit will not conflict with the fact mentioned by Prof. Keith viz. that Govardhana's brother wrote in A. D. 1578 as it is possible that this brother may have been younger than Govardhana and may have been living in A. D. 1578 or 1579 when our MS No. 278 of 1895-1902 was written.

(ii) As regards the limit for the date of Mādhavabhaṭṭa's commentary called *Tarkabhāṣāvivaraṇa* viz. “ before 1681 ” fixed by Prof. Keith I have to state that the following facts push it back by threefourths of a century :—

We have two Mss of this commentary in the Govt. Mss Library viz. (1) No. 759 of 1884-87, and (2) No. 284 of 1882-83. No. 1 is dated Samvat 1661 (= A. D. 1605) while No. 2 is dated Samvat 1662 (= A. D. 1606). The dates of these copies viz. A. D. 1605 and 1606 push back Keith's limit of 1681 A. D. to 1605 A. D. i. e. by about 76 years.

(iii) Three more commentators of the *Tarkabhāṣā* not mentioned by Prof. Keith are (1) Balabhadra, (2) Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa and Murāribhaṭṭa. The chronological limits for their commentaries can also be fixed on the basis of the following oldest dated Mss in the Govt. Mss Library ;—

- (1) *Tarkabhāṣāṭīkā* by Balabhadra - MS No. 200 of 1884-86, dated Samvat 1612 (= A. D. 1556).
- (2) *Tarkabhāṣāprakāśa* by Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa - MS No. 135 of 1871-1872, dated Śaka 1482 (= A. D. 1560).
- (3) *Tarkaprakāśa* by Murāribhaṭṭa - MS No. 179 of 1899-1915 dated Śaka 1572 (= A. D. 1650).

It is clear from the above facts that the commentaries of Balabhadra, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa and Murāribhaṭṭa must have been written before A. D. 1556, 1560, and 1650 respectively.

To sum up, the following table will show at a glance how my present data has affected Prof. Keith's chronological limits. It will also show the limits fixed by me for commentaries of Tarkabhāṣā not mentioned by Prof. Keith.

No.	Commentary	Author	Date according to Keith	Date according to my data	Remarks
1	<i>Tarkabhāṣāṭīkā</i> ...	Cinnabhaṭṭa	A. D. 1300 to 1350*	—	*"First half of the fourteenth century"
2	<i>Tarkabhāṣāprakāśa</i> ...	Govardhana	A. D. 1578*	A. D. 1550	*Govardhana's brother wrote in A. D. 1578
3	<i>Tarkabhāṣāvivarāṇa</i> ..	Mādhava-bhaṭṭa	Before 1681	Before A. D. 1605	} Dates of B.O.R.I. MSS.
4	<i>Tarkabhāṣāṭīkā</i> ...	Balabhadra	not mentioned	Before A. D. 1556	
5	<i>Tarkabhāṣāprakāśa</i> ...	Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa	—Do—	Before A. D. 1560	
6	<i>Tarkaprakāśa</i> ...	Murāribhaṭṭa	—Do—	Before A. D. 1650	

IV

DATE OF JVARATIMIRABHĀSKARA OF KĀYASTHA
CĀMUṆḌA AND IDENTIFICATION OF RĀJAMALLA,
HIS PATRON.

Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Part I, p. 214, remarks that the work *Jvaratimirabhāskara*, which is a treatise on fevers, their character and treatment, was composed in A. D. 1623, while in Part II, p. 44 of the same catalogue he states that the work was composed in A. D. 1489. This contradiction led me to examine all the available Mss of the work in the Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute. On examination of these Mss I find that the author himself has recorded the date of composition of the work. It is represented by a chronogram incorporated in a four-lined stanza.¹ The chronogram appears to be differently copied in the four Mss before me as will be seen from the following tabular statement:—

Serial No.	Mss Lib. No.	Date of Ms	Chronogram	Value
1	No. 920 of 1884-87	Sam. 1689 or A. D. 1633	“रस्युगसरभू ”	Sam. 1546 or A. D. 1490
2	No. 1050 of 1886-92	Sam. 1762 or A. D. 1706	“रस्युगरसरभू ”	Sam. 1646 or A. D. 1590
3	No. 92 of 1887-91	Sam. 1763 or A. D. 1707	—Do—	—Do—
4	No. 455 of 1895-98	Sam. 1875 or A. D. 1819	“रस्युगशरभू ”	Sam. 1546 or A. D. 1490

1. This stanza as found in the oldest dated Ms viz. No. 920 of 1884-87 reads as under:—

“देसे श्री मेढपाटे रस्युगसरभूमानवर्षे दसम्यां ।

शुक्लायामश्विनस्य त्रिदशगुरुदिने योगिनीपत्रनस्थः ॥

भूपेश्वरीराजमल्ले निवसति वसुधामंडले कुंभसूनुः ।

कायस्थश्च चंडनामा ज्वरतिमिरहृरं भास्करं संविधत्ते ॥”

In the third line of this stanza the epithet “कुंभसूनु” has a reference to the author कायस्थ चंड. In the Bikaner MS, however, we have the reading “कुंभसूनौ” referring to ‘भूपेश्वरीराजमल्ले’. If this reading is accepted, the reference to राजमल्ल becomes more pointed as we know from epigraphic evidence that राजमल्ल was the son of कुम्भ.

In the above statement two different dates of composition are noticeable. One is Samv. 1546 of Mss Nos. 2 and 3 and Samv. 1546 of Mss Nos. 1 and 4. The difference of 100 years is obviously the result of the incorrectness of the copyist in putting the word *rasa* for *sara*, which is a case of transposition of letters. The reading 'sara' (= *sara*) is the reading of the oldest MS of the work viz. No. 920 of 1884-87, which is dated Samvat 1689. It is therefore, more reliable. It is further corroborated by additional data from other Mss referred to in different catalogues which will be found in the following table :—

No.	Catalogue	Date of Ms	Chronogram	Value
1	Bikaner Mss Catalogue p. 643	...	शरयुगशरभू	Samv. 1545 or A. D. 1489.
2	Stein's Catalogue of Jammu Mss	Samv. 1941 or A. D. 1885	...	Samv. 1546 or A. D. 1490.
9	Peterson's Catalogue of Ulwar Mss (1892)	—Do—

In this statement the date of composition varies only by one year according as the first word of the chronogram is read as *sara* (= 5) or *rasa* (= 6). This difference is, however, negligible. The date Samvat 1546 (A. D. 1490) which is borne out by the oldest Ms available seems to be the correct date. Its correctness is further vouched by the statement of the author in the stanza of the chronogram that the work was written during the reign of King Rājamalla of Medapāṭa Deśa. The Medapāṭa Deśa referred to here is identical with Mewad in Rajputana.¹ It now remains for us to identify King Rājamalla, who appears to have been the patron of the author. In the Dynastic List of the Guhila Princes of Mewad given by Duff² there is one Rājamalla who stands as No. 41 in that list. His date is A. D. 1489 (Vikrama Samvat 1545) as is proved by the Udepur Inscription.³ He was

1. Ep. Ind. Vol. II, p. 409.—Inscription of Mokala of Medapāṭa (Mevād), grandfather of Rājamalla.
2. Duff's *Indian Chronology*, p. 287.
3. Ibid. p. 265.

son and successor of Kumbhakarṇa whom he is said to have succeeded in A. D. 1474 ¹. His son Sangramasinha I. succeeded him in A. D. 1509.² It appears to me that the Rājamalla of Medapāṭa Deśa, the patron of the author of the *Jvaratimirabhāskara* is identical with the Rājamalla of Mewad who reigned from A. D. 1474 to A. D. 1509. Curiously enough the date of Udepur Inscription referred to above viz. 1545 synchronizes with the date of composition of the present work which is also *Samvat* 1545 or 1546 i. e. A. D. 1489 or 1490.

The above evidence substantiates one of the dates of composition of the work viz. A. D. 1489. The other date viz. A. D. 1623 which is the result of taking 1545 to belong to Śaka era is obviously wrong owing to other facts pointed out by me, all of which tend towards *Samvat* 1545 as the correct date of composition of the work.

1. *Bhavanagar Inscriptions*, p. 117.

2. *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, by E. Thomas, p. 356.

REVIEWS

THE ORIGIN OF ŚAIVISM AND ITS HISTORY IN THE
TAMIL LAND :— BY K. R. SUBRAMANIAN, LECTURER IN
HISTORY, MAHARAJA'S COLLEGE, VIZIANAGRAM, MADRAS,
1929 ; pp. 82.

This little book was published as a supplement to the Madras University Journal. The work is divided into four Parts. Part I deals with the origin and significance of Phallic worship, wherein the conclusion is set forth that the ancient and probably un-Aryan people called Nāgas, whose sway once extended even beyond the limits of the Bhāratavarṣa, are to be identified with the "Śiśnadevas" referred to in the Rgveda, to whom snake as an emblem or totem was sacred. The author, on the evidence of certain remains brought to light by Bruce Foote, thinks that this Phallic cult is Neolithic and preceded the matriarchal stage of Śakti-worship. Śiva, according to Mr. Subramanian, is an un-Aryan, un-Vedic and probably a trans-Himalayan God, whose symbol is the *Liṅga*, as the source of creation and destruction, from out of which the idea of the Buddhist Stūpa was developed. The story of a Śaiva from South India who, upon obtaining from the train his first distant view of London dominated by St. Paul's Cathedral, averred that the Londoners must be worshippers of the Phallus, as they had erected such a magnificent form of that emblem in their midst, need no longer, after this, be disbelieved. — Part II deals with Buddhist and Jaina remains in the Tamil Nādu. This is a fully-documented part of the book, wherein we are told that certain forms of Mahāyāna Buddhism and Later-Pāṇḍya Jainism owe a good deal to some of the South Indian "Bhakti" cults. And since the "new Brahmanism incorporated in itself some of the essentials" of the Bhakti doctrine, that bridged the way for the absorption of the Buddhists and the Jains by Brahmanism. Part III discusses the evolution of the architectural style of Tamil temples. Both temples and temple-worship, the author tells us, were un-Aryan, and since the temple-worship idea was on the South adopted alike

by Buddhism, Jainism, and Brahmanism, it was responsible for evoking a spirit of broad-mindedness so different from the later acrimonious sectarianism as between the Śaivas and the Vaiṣṇavas. Worship came to be purified of its bloody rites and other revolting practices, the great Śaṅkara and his successors having played not an insignificant part in this purification. The concluding Part recounts the way in which this purified worship came to be gradually invaded by the sectarian spirit. The book concludes with a short bibliography and index. The author does not seem to have made use of sources other than English and Sanskrit or Tamil, even such an important German work as Arbmann's *Rudra* finding no mention therein. The work is creditable and thought-provoking, even where one is forced to disagree with the author.

S. K. B.

THE VIKRAMORVAŚĪYA OF KĀLIDĀSA WITH THE COMMENTARY CALLED KUMĀRAGIRIRĀJĪYA OF KĀṬAYAVEMA, FOR THE FIRST TIME CRITICALLY EDITED BY PROF. CHARU DEVA SHASTRI, LAHORE, 1929.

In his edition undertaken for the Bombay Sanskrit Series, S. P. Pandit had given in the Notes occasional extracts from Kāṭayavema's commentary. Pandit thought of Kāṭayavema as a careful, scrupulous and exact scholar. It is therefore rather strange that nobody before Professor Charu Deva Shastri thought of undertaking a complete edition of that Commentary. To this first edition of the Commentary the learned Lahore Professor has appended an Introduction, English Translation, and Notes, and even a Glossary where all the difficult words to be found on each page of the text are given with their English equivalents, in the order of their occurrence on the page. This is spoon-feeding the students with a vengeance! No definite views about Kālidāsa's date are put forth in the introduction. The Northern recension of the Fourth Act with the Prākṛit songs is practically ignored, although much can be said in favour of the authenticity of the major part of it. Prof. Charu Deva Shastri has mainly followed Pandit's text and interpretation. In a few places he has preferred

the text of Kāṭayavema to that adopted by Pandit ; and although the reasons for the preference are often subjective, in an edition of Kāṭayavema's commentary we cannot expect the author to give a text other than the one commented upon by the commentator. The total absence of diacritical marks in a "critical" edition (whatever the reasons for the same) cannot be anything but irritating, as also the eschewing of all Prakrit words from the Glossary. All the same we welcome this first edition of Kāṭayavema's Commentary on the Vikramorvaśīya, and trust that the author will endeavour to rescue other commentaries of the same commentator from their undeserved oblivion.

S. K. B.

THE RUKMINĪKALYĀNA MAHĀKĀVYA OF ŚRĪ RAJA-
CUDĀMANI DĪKṢITA, WITH THE COMMENTARY OF ŚRĪ
BĀLAYAJÑAVEDEŚVARA : EDITED BY THE PANDITS OF THE
ADYAR LIBRARY, ADYAR, 1929.

This is the first edition of a Sanskrit Kāvya produced in South India towards the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century by one of that large number of eminent Sanskrit Poets and Philosophers belonging to the so-called Golden Age of Sanskrit Revival in recent times under the auspices of the Nāyaka Kingdoms at Vellore, Penukonda, Gingee, Tanjore, and Madura which flourished upon the ruins of the Vijayanagara Empire. The most prominent figure in that galaxy is no doubt the famous Śaiva Vedāntin, Appaya Dikṣita. The author of the present Kāvya seems to have been a prodigy, as he is said to have composed a Sanskrit Nāṭikā at the early age of six. He was a poly-histor and touched practically all branches of Sanskrit Literature, and Philosophy. Over 27 works of his, small and large, are known by name, only about a dozen of them being now extant, amongst them the present artificial poem in ten cantos, of which only the first two are presented in the book under review, accompanied by a profuse and learned Sanskrit commentary of Bālayajñavedeśvara¹ written in A. D. 1833. The

1 Bhāla° on the Sanskrit title-page seems to be a mistake.

publication is preceded by an Apologia by Prof. C. Kunhan Raja pleading for the study of even artificial Sanskrit Poetry of the type of the work under review, as it can minister to the delectation of a few connoisseurs and can enable us to form the picture of an age where such literary productions were regarded as the height of one's literary aspirations. The verse is loaded with learning, lacks *prasāda*, and is after all only a second-rate production. A little of it by way of variety can be tolerated, although it must be pointed out that there is yet so much of first-rate unpublished literature crying out for light from the shelves of many a public and private library in South India, that even such a slight diversion of the energy and the funds for an admittedly second-class work can legitimately arouse mild protest. The editing and the printing is quite good and in keeping with the traditional excellence of Adyar publications.

S. K. B.

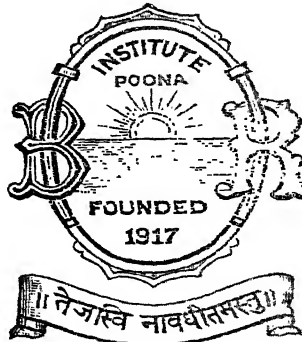
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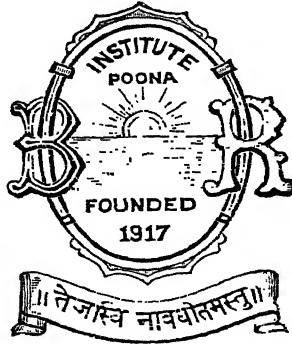
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VOL. XII]

JULY 1931

[PART IV

SOME PROBLEMS OF INDIAN CHRONOLOGY

BY

K. G. SANKAR, B. A., B. L.

The chronology of Ancient India still remains unsettled. The devoted labours of generations of Indian and foreign scholars have apparently only added to the already existing confusion. This is due in part at least to the exclusive reliance on one set of chronicles, Greek, Buddhist, Jain or Hindu. Foreign scholars, for instance, who are unduly critical where Indian accounts are concerned, err on the side of credulity when dealing with Greek or Chinese accounts. They assume that indigenous accounts are bound to be biassed and prefer the Greek and Chinese chronicles as more impartial and truthful. But love of truth and impartiality cannot be the monopoly of any one race or nation and prejudice may be as detrimental to the discovery of truth as patriotism. The object of this paper is to attempt, if possible, to solve some leading problems of early Indian chronology by dealing critically and impartially with all available materials, free from the extremes of credulity and prejudice, and as far as possible unswayed by any motive other than the love of historic truth.

The prime need in such an investigation is a fixed starting point, from which we may work backwards and forwards. Sir

William Jones claimed to have laid the foundation of Indian chronology by his discovery of the identity of Sandrokottos with Candragupta Maurya and his claim has been almost universally admitted as true. This identity is not indeed as axiomatic as it is generally believed to be and stands in need of confirmation from other sources. But it can be established beyond all reasonable doubt and it serves as a rough and ready starting-point for early Indian chronology. It therefore deserves a closer examination than it has received hitherto.

This identity rests on the Greek accounts of Alexander's invasion of India. None of the contemporary accounts, however, has come down to us. This is not, perhaps such a great loss as one would imagine, as, in the opinion of Strabo (19 A. C.), the writers of those accounts were all a set of liars, of whom only a few managed now and then to stammer out some words of truth. Such a sweeping censure may not be entirely deserved, as most of these chroniclers were perhaps more credulous than dishonest; but still the fact serves to minimise their importance. In the absence of the original accounts, the value of the existing chronicles, must, it is obvious, depend upon the fidelity with which they reproduce their sources and the extent of critical faculty they bring to bear upon such material. Prof. Freeman examines them and decides that Arrian alone, of them all, stands the test¹.

The Greek chronicles that bear on the identity of Sandrokottos are :—

1. Diodorus Siculus (1st Cent. B. C.), 2. Strabo (19 A. C.)
3. Quintus Curtius (1st Cent. A. C.), 4. Plutarch (1st Cent. A. C.), 5. Arrian (2nd Cent. A. C.), 6. Athenaios (3rd Cent. A. C.), and 7. Justin (4th Cent. A. C.). They have first to be examined separately and the account sifted from them has then to be compared with the available Indian sources, to arrive at the final approximation to truth. For convenience, they are quoted as translated by J. W. Mc Crindle in his *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*.

1 *Historical Essays*, second series, third edition, pp. 183-184.

Diodorus writes ¹ " He (Alexander) had obtained from Phegeus a description of the country beyond the Indus. First came a desert, which it would take 12 days to traverse ; beyond this was the river called the Ganges, which had a width of thirty-two stadia, and a greater depth than any other Indian river ; beyond this again were situated the dominions of the nation of the Praisioi and the Gandaridae, whose king Xandrames, had an army of 20,000 horse, 200,000 infantry, 2000 chariots and 4000 elephants trained and equipped for war. Alexander, distrusting these statements, sent for Poros and questioned him as to their accuracy. Poros assured him of the correctness of the information, but added that the king of the Gandaridae was a man of quite worthless character, and held in no respect, as he was thought to be the son of a barber. This man, the king's father, was of a comely person, and of him the queen had become deeply enamoured. The old king having been treacherously murdered by his wife, the succession had devolved on him who now reigned. "

This account is simple and straight-forward. The Praisioi and the Gandaridae evidently formed a single nation in Alexander's time and had a common king Xandrames. The Praisioi are the Prācyas (Magadha), and according to Pliny ² and Ptolemy ³, the Gandaridae (more correctly Gangaritae - *Sanskrit* Gaṅgārāṣṭra) were a tribe of the Kalingas, who dwelt about the mouths of the Ganges. Xandrames evidently stands for Candramas, and his army was constituted of the four Hindu elements, *hastyaśva-rathapadāti* (elephants, horse, chariots and infantry). Candramas was believed to be born of a barber to the queen of the late murdered king.

Strabo (2. 1. 9) says nothing of Xandrames, but mentions the embassy of Megasthenes from Seleukos to Sandrokottos and of Deimachos to his son Amitrochates (*Sanskrit* Amitraghāta). Seleukos was a general of Alexander. Amitrochates cannot be identified with any known Indian king and may have been only a

1 *Bibliotheca Historica* (17. 93).

2 *Natural History* (6. 65).

3 *Geography* (7. 1. 81).

title. But Sandrokkottos evidently stands for Candragupta, and the identity is seen more clearly in the form Sandrokkptos found in Athenaios¹. The Gupta kings of this name are known to have lived several centuries later. So the Sandrokkottos of Greek chronicles must be identified with Candragupta Maurya. Strabo says further (15. 2) that Seleukos crossed the Indus and tried to recover Alexander's Indian provinces, but had to cede to Sandrokkottos the entire country east of the Hindukush in exchange for 500 elephants and to enter into a matrimonial alliance with him. This result of the encounter between Seleukos and Sandrokkottos is confirmed by Appian², and the matrimonial alliance between them is mentioned in the *Bhavisya Purāṇa* (3. 6. 43) also, which says that Candragupta Maurya married the daughter of the Persian King Sulūva (Seleukos). The identity therefore of Sandrakottos with Candragupta Maurya may be taken as established.

The account of Quintus Curtius is more detailed.³ "The king (Alexander) made a halt of two days with this prince (Phegeus), designing on the third day to cross the river, the passage of which was difficult, not only from its great breadth, but also because its channel was obstructed with rocks. Having therefore requested Phegeus to tell him what he wanted to know, he learnt the following particulars. Beyond the river lay extensive deserts which it would take eleven days to traverse. Next came the Ganges, the largest river in all India, the further bank of which was inhabited by two nations, the Gangaridae and the Prasii, whose king Aggrames kept in the field, for guarding the approaches to his country, 20,000 cavalry and 200,000 infantry, besides 2000 four-horsed chariots, and what was the most formidable force of all, a troop of elephants which he said ran up to the number of 3000. All this seemed to the king to be incredible, and he therefore asked Poros, who happened to be in attendance, whether the account was true. He assured Alexander in reply that, as far as the strength of the nation and kingdom was concerned, there was no exaggeration

1 *Deipnosophists* (c. 18 d).

2 *Syriake* (c. 55).

3 *History of Alexander* (9. 2).

in the reports, but that the present king was not merely a man originally of no distinction, but even of the very meanest condition. His father was in fact a barber, scarcely staving off hunger by his daily earnings, but who, from his being not uncomely in person, had gained the affections of the queen, and was by her influence advanced to too near a place in the confidence of the reigning monarch. Afterwards, however, he treacherously murdered his sovereign ; and, then under the pretence of acting as guardian to the royal children, usurped the supreme authority, and, having put the young princes to death, begot the present king who was detested and held cheap by his subjects, as he rather took after his father than conducted himself as the occupant of a throne."

There is substantial agreement between the accounts of Diodorus and Quiutus Curtius, but the differences are noteworthy. Besides minor discrepancies like Gangaridae for Gandaridae, and Aggrames for Xandrames, and in the number of his elephants, Curtius gives details not found in Diodorus. Xandrames' father is said to have been almost in a starving condition, when the queen's favour raised him to a position of trust near her husband, which he abused to murder him (Diodorus ascribes the murder to the queen herself) and his minor sons, under the pretence of acting as their guardian ; and to usurp the realm for himself ; and Xandrames himself is said to have been born only after the murder of the late king. If Diodorus and Curtius followed the same authorities, as their substantial agreement indicates, it is not easy to understand why the former omits to give any of these details on which Curtius dilates. It seems therefore that Curtius was trying to improve upon the original story, found intact in Diodorus.

Plutarch, in his turn, contributes ¹ to the growth of the Sandro kottos legend, which attains its final stage in Justin. "The battle with Poros depressed the spirits of the Macedonians, and made them very unwilling to advance further into India. For as it was with the utmost difficulty they had beaten him when the

1 *Life of Alexander* (c. 62).

army he led amounted only to 20,000 infantry and 2000 cavalry, they now most resolutely opposed Alexander, when he insisted that they should cross the Ganges. This river, they heard, had a breadth of two-and-thirty stadia, and a depth of 100 fathoms, while its farther banks were covered all over with armed men, horses and elephants. For the kings of the Gandaridae and the Praisiai were reported to be waiting for him with an army of 80,000 horse, 200,000 foot, 8000 war chariots and 6000 fighting elephants. Nor was this an exaggeration, for not long afterwards Androkottos, who had by that time mounted the throne, presented Seleukos with 500 elephants, and overran and subdued the whole of India with an army of 600,000 men. Androkottos himself, who was then but a youth, saw Alexander himself and afterwards used to declare that Alexander could easily have taken possession of the whole country since the king was hated and despised by his subjects for the wickedness of his disposition and the meanness of his origin."

Alexander's troops are here said to have become depressed, not when Alexander wanted to cross the Hyphasis (Beas), but soon after the battle with Poros, and, rather inconsistently, when he insisted on their crossing the Ganges. The Gangaridae and the Prasii are said to have had different kings, and both are actually said to have been waiting on the farther banks of the Ganges with their entire army. The strength of this army is here raised from 20,000 to 80,000 horse, from 2000 to 8000 chariots, and from 3000 or 4000 to 6000 elephants. These facts are enough to cast doubts on Plutarch's reliability. He adds that Sandrokottos gained the throne after Alexander's invasion of India, presented Seleukos with 500 elephants and subdued the whole of India, and had, in his youth, met Alexander in person, and afterwards used to declare that Alexander could have easily conquered the whole country, as the king was hated and despised for his wickedness and mean origin. In the first place, by merely saying that Sandrokottos presented Seleukos with 500 elephants without referring at the same time to the cession by Seleukos of the entire country east of the Hindu Kush, Plutarch betrays his racial bias. Again the statement that Sandrokottos conquered the whole of India cannot be accepted as true, in the face of the facts that,

even in the times of his grandson Priyadarshi, the Tamil kingdoms were independent, and that, as we learn from the latter's rock-edict No. 13, even Kalinga was unconquered till his 8th year. If, again, it is true that Sandrokottos *used* to declare that Alexander could easily have conquered Eastern India, Alexander must have loomed as large in the eyes of the Indians as in those of his own people. In that case, it is certainly strange and inexplicable that Alexander's raid should not have received even a casual notice in any Indian chronicle, Hindu, Buddhist or Jain. It is moreover rather suspicious that the opinion here ascribed to Sandrokottos is by Diodorus and Curtius attributed to Poros, and the grounds for the opinion are the same — the wickedness and the mean origin of the reigning king. Plutarch, who had already assigned different kings to the Gangaridae and the Prasii, here seems to imply that they had a common king, like Diodorus and Curtius. In the face of all these discrepancies, it is difficult to attach much weight to his statement that Sandrokottos had met Alexander in person before he gained the throne.

Arrian, who alone, in the opinion of Prof Freeman, "seems to have had at once the will and the power to exercise a discreet judgment upon the statements of those who went before him," does not so much as mention the name of the king or the people, the strength of whose army dismayed the veteran troops of Alexander, if not Alexander himself. He contents himself with the following modest statement.¹ "It was reported that the country beyond the Hyphasis was exceedingly fertile, and that the inhabitants were good agriculturists, brave in war, and living under an excellent system of internal government, for the multitude was governed by the aristocracy, who exercised their authority with justice and moderation. It was also reported that the people there had a greater number of elephants than the other Indians, and that those were of superior size and courage." Arrian's desire to avoid dilating on the enemy's strength is evident, but his honesty gives us a clue to the real reason of Alexander's retreat. All the Greek accounts agree regarding the strength of the country east of the Ganges, but, while other

1 *Anabasis* (5. 25).

writers believe in Alexander's chances of success, on the ground that its king, being wicked and low-born, was unpopular, Arrian lays stress on the prosperity of the country and the justice and moderation of its government. We have thus to choose between Arrian and the other Greek authors; and the choice is not in the least degree difficult. Alexander in fact must have felt more relieved than angry, when his troops refused to advance further, as he could retreat without damage to his military reputation. The resistance encountered by him, when he had to fight only disunited petty tribes, leaves no room to doubt the result of the contest, if he had to face the entire strength of a popular and powerful king of Magadha. Arrian adds (5.6) that Megasthenes, by his own statement, frequently visited Sandrokottos and thus confirms his synchronism with Seleukos. Athenaios (14.67) too points to the same conclusion by making their sons Amitrochates and Antiochos contemporaries of each other.

Justin, claiming to base his account on Pompeius Trogus (1st century A. C.), begins¹ by making Alexander conquer the Prasidae and the Gangaridae (whom the other accounts represent as having dismayed Alexander's troops) "after defeating their armies with great slaughter", and says that, when Alexander reached the Cuphites (evidently a river in Utopia), where the enemy, (necessarily unnamed) awaited him with 200,000 cavalry (he evidently specialised in cavalry and had no use even for the much dreaded elephants), his troops refused to advance further. After this veracious account, the legend of Sandrokottos follows (15.4). "Seleukos Nikator waged many wars in the east after the partition of Alexander's empire among his generals. He first took Babylon, and then with his forces augmented by victory subjugated the Bactrians. He then passed even into India, which after Alexander's death as if the yoke of servitude had been shaken off from its neck, had put his prefects to death. Sandrokottos was the leader who achieved their freedom, but after his victory he forfeited by his tyranny all title to the name of liberator, for he oppressed with servitude the very people whom he had emancipated from foreign thralldom. He was born in humble life, but was prompted to aspire to

1 *Historiae Philippicae* (12.8).

royalty by an omen significant of an august destiny. For when by his insolent behaviour he had offended Alexander, and was ordered by that king to be put to death, he sought safety by a speedy flight. When he lay down overcome with fatigue and had fallen into a deep sleep, a lion of enormous size, approaching the slumberer licked with its tongue the sweat which oozed profusely from his body, and, when he awoke, quietly took its departure. It was this prodigy which first inspired him with the hope of winning the throne, and so, having collected a band of robbers, he instigated the Indians to overthrow the existing government. When he was thereafter preparing to attack Alexander's prefects, a wild elephant of monstrous size approached him, and, kneeling submissively like a tame elephant, received him on to its back and fought vigorously in front of the army. Sandrokottos, having thus won the throne, was reigning over India, when Seleukos was laying the foundations of his future greatness. Seleukos, having made a treaty with him and otherwise settled his affairs in the east, returned home to prosecute the war with Antigonos".

It is perhaps cruel to dissect this beautiful legend, but so much history has been built on the basis of this passage that it is necessary to examine how much of it is true. The prodigies of the lion licking the sweat off the body of Sandrokottos, and the wild elephant voluntarily receiving him on its back, both being of monstrous or enormous size, may perhaps be passed over. But Justin, who thus shows his love of curious details, omits to state in what way Sandrokottos had offended Alexander (the emendation of *Alexandrum* to *Nandrum* is gratuitous), and how they happened to meet at all. Justin's love of the miraculous is seen also in his legend of Seleukos (in the same chapter), whom he makes out to be a physical son of Apollo, citing in proof thereof the anchormark on the thighs of Seleukos and all his successors. Stripped of the miraculous details, and the apocryphal meeting of Sandrokottos and Alexander, Justin's narrative may be thus summed up. Sandrokottos was of humble birth, but, with the aid of some wild tribes, he captured the throne of Magadha, and after Alexander's death, he killed the Greek prefects and recovered the Punjab. In the meantime, Seleukos

had taken Babylon and Bactria, and sought to reconquer the Indian border, but was forced to give up his claims and, after concluding a treaty with Sandrokottos, he turned back against Antigonos. The passage quoted clearly indicates that the accession of Sandrokottos was prior to his recovery of the Punjab. Justin's reluctance to admit the defeat of Seleukos may be seen from the terms of his reference to the encounter. The Greek chronicles all seem to bear unwilling testimony to the greatness of Sandrokottos, though they do not stoop to deny or ignore the facts. If the story of Alexander's meeting with Sandrokottos be discredited, we cannot say from the Greek chronicles alone whether the accession of Sandrokottos was prior or subsequent to Alexander's invasion, or whether he was or was not identical with Xandrames.

The Indian accounts of Candragupta may now be compared. The earliest of these is the *Br̥hat-kathā* of Guṇāḍhya. This work has not survived, but two Sanskrit versions of it are available, the *Br̥hat-kathā-maṇjarī* of Kṣemendra and the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* of Somadeva. Both belong to the 11th century A. C., and the latter claims (1. 1. 3 & 10) to be absolutely faithful in substance to the original. Guṇāḍhya was a contemporary of Sātavāhana of Pratiṣṭhāna (Paiṭhana), the adopted son of Dīpakarṇi (1. 6), who may be identified with Āndhra Simuka for various reasons. In the first place, Sātavāhana seems to have been a title of Simuka, but the dynastic name (*Kula*) of the Āndhra kings Kaṇha and Gotamīputra¹. Sātavāhana must therefore be identical with the first Āndhra king Simuka. He is said to have got the name, because he was found by Dīpakarṇi riding a *yakṣa* named Sāta in the form of a lion (1. 6). The introduction of the lion into the story is evidently an attempt to explain his personal name Simhaka (*Prakṛit* Simuka); and, as Dīpakarṇi is not included in the 30 Āndhras named in the Purāṇas, he must have preceded them all. The Purāṇas (cited, throughout this paper, from F. E. Pargiter's *Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kai Age*) uniformly state that Simuka came to power by killing Suśarman, the last

1 Lüder's *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions in Epigraphia Indica* (Vol. 10, app. nos. 1113, 1118, 1123 & 1144).

Kāṇva king, and destroying the remnants of Śuṅga power in Mālva, while, according to the *Kalpa-pradīpa* of Jinaprabhasūri (c. 1300 A. C.), Śātavāhana, born in a potter's house at Paithāṇa, rose to power by driving off from that city Vikramāditya of Ujjain, who was famed as Śākāri (foe of Śakas) and as the founder of the Samvat era of 58 B. C. Vikramāditya seems therefore to have been the title of a later Śuṅga king of Mālva. According to Jinaprabha, Śakti-kumāra was the son and Śūdraka was the minister of Śātavāhana. This statement is confirmed by the evidence of inscriptions (Lüders Nos. 1112 & 1117), which refer to an early Āndhra prince Śakti-Śrī Kumāra. The identity therefore of Śātavāhana with Simuka may be taken as established, and he and his protege Guṇādhyā must have lived about the end of the 1st century B. C. According to the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* of Meruṭuṅga (c. 1300 A. C.), Śātavāhana compiled *Gāthā-sapta-śatī*, to which Bāṇa gives high praise in the metrical introduction to his *Harṣa-carita*, ascribing it to Śātavāhana. The work, however, ascribes itself to Hāla Kavivatsala (1. 3). From this statement, it has been inferred that the author of the work was the 17th king of the Āndhra dynasty, named Hāla. But Hāla was a *pariyāya* (synonym) of Śāla, Śālivāhana and Śātavāhana, according to Hemacandra, *Deśi-nāma māli* and *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*. The *Gāthā-sapta-śatī*, therefore, may be the work of Simuka Śātavāhana himself, or his later descendant Hāla. The colophon to the Bundī manuscript of the work, noticed in Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (p. 349) definitely ascribes the work to king Śātavāhana, known also as Śātakarṇa, Kavivatsala and Hāla, who was the ruler of Pratiṣṭhāna and Kuntala, the son of Dvīpikarṇa, the husband of Malayavati, to whom he owed his learning and the patron of Śarvavarman, the author of *Kālāpa* (or *Kātantra*) and of Guṇādhyā, the author of *Bṛhat-Kathā*. Every one of these details is confirmed by other evidence. For instance, the ascription of the work to Śātavāhana is confirmed by Bāṇa, Rājasekhara, Meruṭuṅga and some manuscripts of the *Gāthā-sapta-śatī*; and, as seen above, the ascription to Hāla Kavivatsala, is found in the body of the work. The title of Śātakarṇa is confirmed by the title Śātakarṇi (descendant of Śātakarṇa) of many of his successors, and by Vātsyāyana, who, a little incorrectly, ascribes the title Śātakarṇi to Śātavāhana of Kuntala, who killed his queen Malaya-

vatī by accident.¹ Pratiṣṭhāna is mentioned as Sātavāhana's capital by Somadeva (1. 6), Merutuṅga, Rājasekhara and the *Anekārtha-Kairavākara-Kaumudī*. Kuntala is mentioned as his country by Vātsyāyana, and in the last verse of the Bundī manuscript. It was also the personal name of an Āndhra King. That Sātavāhana was the son of *Dvīpikarṇa* (more correctly *Dīpakarṇi*) has been seen already from the evidence of Somadeva, who also mentions, with Vātsyāyana, Malayavati, as his queen. Somadeva also tells us how Sātavāhana made a mistake, through his ignorance of Sanskrit grammar, and, piqued by Malayavati laughing at it, he learnt Sanskrit grammar, with the aid of Śarvarman, who composed his *Kālāpa* or *Kāiantra* for his master's benefit, and how Sātavāhana, after neglecting at first the *Bṛhat-Kathā*, because it was written in the Paisācī dialect, later on came to repent of his neglect and appreciate its beauty. It is therefore clear that the *Gāthā sapta-śatī* was compiled by Simuka himself and not his descendent Hāla ; and it is significant that, while the work generously refers to Vikramāditya's generosity in the past tense (5. 64), Śalāhaṇa (Śālivāhana) is himself referred to as a living king (5. 67). The work must therefore have been compiled after Vikramāditya's death. The date thus arrived at for Sātavāhana is confirmed by Rājasekharasūri, who says definitely, in his *Prabandha Kośa*, that Vikramāditya came 470 years after Mahāvīra's death, i. e. in 528 - 470 = 58 B. C., and that Sātavāhana was his contemporary. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar is inclined to ascribe a later date to the *Gāthā-sapta-śatī* on the ground that it mentions Tuesday (3. 61) and Rādhikā (1. 89). But it has not been proved beyond reasonable doubt that weekday names and Rādhikā were unknown in the 1st century B. C. On the other hand, their mention in the *Gāthā-sapta-śatī* should be sufficient to disprove the later dates ascribed to their origin by modern scholars. Doubts cannot be entertained as to the genuineness of these references on the ground that the work was amplified in later times by the addition of many more *gāthās*, as they are found in the text adopted by the commentator Gaṅgādhara, which contains just 70 *gāthās*, if we exclude the last

1 *Kāma-sūtra* (2. 7. 28).

verse (colophon) of each *śataka*. There is therefore no reason to doubt the authenticity of the *Gāthā-sapta-śai*, or the references therein to Vikramāditya, Tuesday and Rādhikā. The date of the *Bṛhat-Kathā* has thus been proved to be the 1st century B. C., and it is therefore the earliest available Indian authority on the History of Candragupta.

The legend of Candragupta, as related by Guṇādhyā, is as follows :— Indradatta, a pupil of Varṣa, and a co-pupil of Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, Vararuci and Vyāḍi, asked by his master a large sum as *guru-dakṣiṇā* (master's remuneration), went to Ayodhyā to apply for it to Nanda, who was reputed to have had 99 crores of gold, but found him just dead. He, however, hit upon the idea of transfusing his own spirit into Nanda's body and giving Vararuci the needed sum, while Vyāḍi was to guard his own body. But the minister Śakaṭāla suspected a trick, when he found the miserly Nanda growing suddenly generous, but, in view of his master's son Candragupta being still a child, he found means of preventing Indradatta reverting to his own body, by burning it under the pretence of disposing of dead bodies. Indradatta thereupon ordered Śakaṭāla with all his sons to be thrown into a dry well with inadequate food. The sons of Śakaṭāla all gave up their food to their father that he might live to avenge their death. Vararuci, unwilling to shoulder the burden of government alone as Indradatta's minister, persuaded him to reinstate Śakaṭāla. Indradatta, then resigning the administration to these two ministers, gave himself up to enjoyment as Yogananda. Vararuci then incurred his suspicion and displeasure by referring to a mark on the body of his queen, and was ordered to be killed. But Śakaṭāla contrived to hide him till the king repented of his hasty and unjust order, when Vararuci, in his turn, was reinstated. But, in the meantime, his relations, hearing a false report of his death, had given up their lives. This circumstance, combined with the growing tyranny of Yogananda, made him retire disgusted into private life. Śakaṭāla then succeeded, with Cāṇakya's aid, in destroying Yogananda and his son Hiraṇyagupta and reinstating Candragupta on his father's throne (1.4.45). Allowing for the romantic frame-work, the story may be boiled down to yield us valuable data. On the death of the rich Nanda,

an impostor succeeded him, but the minister Śakatāla later on killed him with Cāṇakya's aid, and reinstated Nanda's son Candragupta.

Next in time, the Purāṇas only say that Mahānandi was succeeded by his Śūdra son Mahāpadma Nanda, who destroyed all Kṣattriya dynasties, and, with his 8 sons Sumālya or Sukalpa and others, ruled for 100 years, and that Kautilya (Cāṇakya Viṣṇugupta) uprooted them all and anointed Candragupta Maurya¹. Mahāpadma Nanda of the Purāṇas is said to have been so called, because he was lord of wealth to the extent of a Mahāpadma, and is therefore evidently identical with the genuine Nanda of the *Bṛhat-kathā*. Like Mahāpadma, Pūrva-nanda (the genuine Nanda) too is said to have been a Śūdra (1. 4. 114). Mahāpadma is said to have destroyed Kṣattriya dynasties and annexed their kingdoms, while Ayodhyā is included in Pūrva-nanda's kingdom. Their identity is therefore almost certain. But the accounts of their successors are different. While Pūrva-nanda was succeeded by the impostor Yogananda, Mahāpadma is said to have been succeeded by his 8 sons, the Nava Nandas. The truth seems to be, as Mr. K. P. Jayaswal surmised, that Yogananda was called Navananda (New Nanda) to distinguish him from his predecessor, and this term was misunderstood in later times to mean 9 Nandas, and thus 8 sons came to be given to Mahāpadma to make up the number. But only one of them is named, an indication that only one king was known to have come between Mahāpadma and Candragupta. Sumālya or Sukalpa was perhaps a title of Yogananda. About the part played by Cāṇakya in uprooting Nava-Nanda and reinstating Candragupta, the Purāṇas agree only in part with the *Bṛhat-Kathā*, for, while in the latter he is only an agent of Śakatāla, the Purāṇas make him the chief actor in the tragedy. Again, while the *Bṛhat-Kathā*, makes Candragupta the son of Pūrva-nanda, the Purāṇas only call him a Maurya, which may be the clan name of Candragupta's mother. The commentary on the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* however, interprets the term to mean the 'son of Murā' (the supposed name of the mother of Candragupta).

1 *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (4. 24); *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (12. 1).

We may now turn to the *Ma'ūramśa* (5th century A. C.). Its account of Candragupta's rise to power as translated by Dr. Geiger (5. 14. 17) is as follows:—"The sons of Kālāsoka were ten brothers, twenty-two years did they reign. Afterwards, the nine Nandas were Kings in succession: they too reigned twenty-two years. Then did the Brāhmaṇa Cāṇakya anoint a glorious youth, known by the name Candragupta, as king over all Jambūdvīpa, born of a noble clan, the Moriyas, when, filled with bitter hate, he had slain the ninth Dhanananda". It will be shown later on that Kālāsoka and his ten sons stand for Nandivardhana and Mahā-Nandi. The above account is essentially the same as that of the Purāṇas. All Indian accounts agree that Cāṇakya was insulted by the Nanda who preceded Candragupta, and that, in revenge, he uprooted the Nanda and anointed Candragupta. The story found in the *Bṛhat-Kathā* is that Śakaṭāla found Cāṇakya tearing up by the root and turning to ashes a blade of grass that had hurt his foot. Thinking that he had found the man he wanted, Śakaṭāla invited Cāṇakya to a Śrāddha feast in the house of Yogananda, but secretly gave orders to substitute another Brāhmaṇa Subandhu. When Cāṇakya came and found there was no place for him, he was furious and vowed not to tie up his locks of hair until he had uprooted Nanda (Yogananda). Śakaṭāla then persuaded him of his own innocence in the affair, and had Yogananda and his son Hiranyagupta destroyed by getting Cāṇakya to perform certain magical rites. The other Indian accounts vary in details, but give substantially the same story. But the *Mahāvamśa* alone says, with later Buddhist writers, that Candragupta was a Moriya by birth. The Moriyas are well known as a Kṣātriya clan allied to the Śākyas; and Candragupta's mother may have come of that clan, which may have helped Candragupta to gain the throne; or Candragupta may have only claimed kinship with that clan. The *Mahāvamśa* again disagrees with the *Bṛhat-Kathā* and the Purāṇas in making the rich Nanda (Dhana Nanda) the last, instead of the first, of the Nandas and follows the Purāṇas in interpreting Nava Nanda to mean 9 Nandas. The commentary on the *Mahāvamśa*, which referring on chapter 5 to a schism of 1144 A. B. (after Buddha's death), cannot date earlier than the 7th century A. C., adds that

Nanda was originally a bandit-chief and usurper, and that Candragupta was the son of a Moriya King, thereby contradicting the Purāṇic account that Mahāpadma was Mahānandi's son and the *Bṛhat-Kathā*, which makes him Candragupta's father. The still later *Mahābaddhivamsā* (ed. Pali Text Society, p. 98) comes out with the names (evidently invented) of all the 10 sons of Kālāsoka and all the 9 Nandas. The sons of Kālāsoka are said to have been named Bhadrāsena, Korāṇḍavarṇa, Maṅgura, Sarvaṃjaha, Jālika, Ubhaka, Saṃjaya, Koravya, Nandivardhana, and Pañcamaka. The Nandas are said to have been named Ugrāsena, Paṇḍuka, Paṇḍugati, Bhūtapāla, Rāṣṭrapāla, Goviṣāṇaka, Daśasiddhaka, Kevaṭṭa, and Dhana.

The evidence of Viśākhadatta's *Mudrā-Rākṣasa* (6th century A. C.) may now be considered, apart from the inconsistent details added by the late commentator Dhunḍhirāja (1713 A. C.). According to the former, Cāṇakya, also known as Kauṭilya and Viṣṇugupta, insulted by Sarvārthasiddhi of Nandavamsā, lord of immense wealth, vowed his destruction and, with the aid of king Parvataka, besieged Pāṭaliputra. Rākṣasa, minister of Nanda, finding it impossible to defend the city, secretly conveyed his master out of the city and, under pretence of surrendering the city, sought to destroy Cāṇakya's protegee Candragupta Maurya, a low-born son of Sarvārthasiddhi, who, even in his youth, had shown signs of his future greatness. But Cāṇakya foiled the schemes of Rākṣasa and contrived instead to kill Parvataka to whom he had promised half the kingdom in return for his aid, and all the 9 Nandas. Rākṣasa, then, with the aid of Parvataka's son Malayaketu, sought to take Pāṭaliputra, but Cāṇakya again succeeded in breaking their alliance, taking Malayaketu captive, and compelling Rākṣasa to become Candragupta's minister. Viśākhadatta follows the Purāṇas in making Cāṇakya the chief actor, and not, as in the *Bṛhat-Kathā*, merely an agent of Śakatāla, but a new defender of the Nandas appears in Rākṣasa. Viśākhadatta follows the later accounts in his interpretation also of the term Nava Nanda, and Candragupta, instead of being Pūrva Nanda's son, becomes the son of the last Nanda, whose name again is neither Yogananda nor Dhana Nanda, but Sarvārthasiddhi. The Mlecchas also, Parvataka and Malayaketu, play

prominent parts as tools of the scheming Cāṇakya and Rākṣasa. It is now hardly possible to say how much of the drama is history and how much dramatic invention. But the story of Cāṇakya promising Parvataka half the kingdom for his aid in attacking Pāṭaliputra and then depriving him of his share by murder is confirmed by Hemacandra (12th century A. C.) in the 8th chapter of his *Īthavīrūvalīcarita* (also called *Parīṣiṣṭaparva*). But Hemacandra distorts the relations of the chief figures in the *Bṛhat-Kathā* by making Vararuci a poet, his wife Upakośā a courtesan, Candragupta the grandson of the protector of the King's peacocks (evidently to account for his name Maurya), and Cāṇakya himself the son of Caṇin and his wife Caṇeśvarī of the village Caṇaka. On the other hand, Hemacandra follows the *Bṛhat-Kathā* in assigning the prominent part to Śakaṭāla and in making Cāṇakya merely his agent. It thus appears that the Candragupta legend grew beyond recognition in India as in Greece, and that each later author adds details which, whatever their intention, by no means improve upon the original story.

The truth seems to be that, after Mahānandī's death, his son by a Śūdra wife, Mahāpadma succeeded him, and when the neighbouring kings, regarding him as an upstart, combined against him, he succeeded in destroying them and annexing their kingdoms. When he died, the youth of his son Candragupta was taken advantage of by an impostor Sumālya or Sukalpa to usurp the throne, but the minister Śakaṭāla, with the aid of Cāṇakya and the Mleccha king Parvataka (who may perhaps be identified with Parvata, an early king of Nepāl, who is said to have ruled a few generations after Buddha), succeeded in killing him and reinstating Candragupta Maurya.

Now to collate the Indian with the Greek accounts, who was Xandrames? Xandrames is evidently a Greek rendering of Candramas, a synonym of Candra. The only king of this name known to have ruled about the time of Alexander's invasion is Candragupta Maurya, who is often called Candraśrī or simply Candra in the *Mudrā-Rākṣasa* (ed. Telang pp. 59, 61, 74, 75, 77, 84, 94, 199, 214, and 265). It is therefore almost certain that Xandrames was identical with Candragupta; and it is significant

that the names Aggrames, Xandrames and Sandrokottos do not all appear in the same accounts. The only author who says that Candragupta gained throne after Alexander's invasion is the unreliable Plutarch. If therefore the Greek accounts of Xandrames tally with the Indian accounts of Candragupta, the identity may be taken as established. Diodorus and Curtius say that Xandrames was a barber's son, raised to the throne by murdering his predecessor, while Candragupta was anointed after killing Sumālya or Sukalpa, and is known to have been of low birth on his mother's side. She might have been of the barber caste, and the Greek accounts might have mistakenly transferred the caste to his father. Or Candragupta's father Mahāpadma might have been born of a barber woman. Curiously enough, while the Purāṇas say that Mahāpadma was born of a Śūdra woman, the first of the 9 Nandas is said by Hemacandra to have been a barber's son¹. If this be true, his son Candragupta would belong to the same caste. But as we have seen, Mahāpadma was reputed to have been Mahānandi's son. It seems therefore that the mother of Mahāpadma or Candragupta was a barber woman, and that the Greek accounts and Hemacandra give a distorted version of this fact. However this may be, if Arrian is to be believed, the low birth of Xandrames did not stand in the way of his power and popularity. There is thus no difficulty in accepting the identity of Xandrames and Sandrokottos with Candragupta, and it may be taken as established.

We may now determine the date of his accession. His grandson Priyadarśi Dharmāśoka refers, in his Rock-edict No. 13, to his missions of *dharma* in the countries of his Greek neighbours Antichos, Ptolemy, Antigonos, Magas and Alexander. The terms of his reference imply that they were all living at the time of the edict. Of these, Alexander (of Epirus) is known to have become King in 272 B. C., and Magas (of Cyrene) to have died in 259 B. C.². Rock-edict No. 13 may therefore be definitely dated between 272 and 259 B. C. Now Aśoka began to issue his edicts on *dharma* only from his 12th year (Pillar edict No. 6), and for

1 *Sthavirāvalīcarita* (6. 231, 232).

2 *Cambridge Ancient History* (7. 214 & 712).

the first time he appointed ministers (*Mahāmūtra*) of *dharma* in his 13th year (Rock-edict No. 5). His missions to his Greek neighbours were evidently sent through such ministers, and, as will be seen presently, all the rock-edicts must be dated before the minor rock-edict No. 1, which will be proved to date from Priyadarśi's 13th year. Rock-edict No. 13 may therefore be definitely dated in his 13th year. The years mentioned in Priyadarśi's edicts must be current years, as in his 26th year he had made only 25 annual jail-deliveries (Pillar-edict No. 5). Thus 12 years had elapsed since Priyadarśi's anointment, when rock-edict No. 13 was issued, and as its date must lie between 272 and 259 B. C., Priyadarśi's anointment may be dated between $272 + 12$ and $259 + 12$ B. C., i. e. between 284 and 271 B. C. The Purāṇas uniformly assign his father Bindusāra 25 years, and his grandfather Candragupta 24 years. Candragupta's accession must therefore date between $284 + (24 + 25)$ and $271 + (24 + 25)$ B. C., i. e. between 333 and 320 B. C. and if, as we have inferred, he was king of Magadha, when Alexander invaded India, the limits for his accession are 333 and 326 B. C. Again, as Candragupta was still ruling, when Seleukos invaded India some time after his taking Babylon and Bactria, and his assumption of the title 'King' in 306 B. C., Candragupta cannot have gained the throne before $306 + 24 = 330$ B. C. Thus Candragupta's accession must be dated between 330 and 326 B. C.

The interval between the death of Mahāvīra and the anointment of Candragupta is given by Hemacandra (8. 339) as 155 years, and by Jinasena (783 A. C.) and Merutuṅga (c. 1300 A. C.) as 215 years¹. The two latter synchronise the anointment of Pālaka of Avantī with the death of Mahāvīra. According to the Purāṇas, the 5 Pradyotas ruled altogether for 138 years, while their first king Pradyota, father of Pālaka, alone ruled for 23 years. The interval therefore between the anointment of Pālaka and the death of the last king in the Pradyota list, Nandivardhana, is 115 years. According to the *Majjhima Nikāya* (sutta 108), Ajātaśatru of Magadha, fearing an invasion by Pradyota, fortified his capital Rājagṛha. Again according to Jinasena (60. 488-89), Hemacandra (6. 236-43) and Merutuṅga,

1 *Harivamśa* (60. 488-89); *Theravāli*, citing Prakrit *gāthās*.

Pālaka of Avantī and Udayī of Magadha both died in the same year, 60 years after Mahāvīra's death. It is thus clear that the Śāisunāgas and Pradyotas were collateral dynasties ruling respectively over Magadha and Avantī. The last king in the Pradyota list, Nandivardhana was therefore almost certainly identical with the Śāisunāga Nandivardhana, who seems in fact to have annexed Avantī on the death of Viśākhayūpa, the 4th and last of the Pradyotas proper. Nandivardhana was, according to the Purāṇas, succeeded by Mahānandi, Mahāpadma and Sumālya or Sukalpa, who ruled respectively for 43, 28 or 88, and 12 or 16 years. These figures explain the discrepancy between Hemacandra and other Jain authors. They all apparently omit the reign of Mahānandi, but, while the source on which Hemacandra relies adopts 28 years for Mahāpadma, that on which the other Jain authors rely adopted the higher figure of 88 years. Thus $115 + 28 + 12 = 155$ years, while $115 + 88 + 12 = 215$ years. But in the later times of Jinasena, Hemacandra and Merutuṅga, the Jains had evidently lost the details making up these totals, and they accounted for them by arbitrarily giving Pālaka a reign of 60 years, and the Nandas a reign of 95 or 155 years. The omission of Mahānandi in their reckonings has led to the discrepancy between their traditional date of 528 B. C. for the death of Mahāvīra and the ascertained date of Candragupta Maurya. Rectifying this omission, the true interval between the death of Mahāvīra and the anointment of Candragupta would be $115 + 43 + 28 + 12$ or $16 = 198$ or 202 years, as 88 years for the reign of a single king is obviously impossible. The total of 40 or 44 years for the Nandas, which sufficed when Nava Nanda was understood to mean 'new Nanda', was evidently deemed too small, when the term came to mean 9 Nandas, who were believed by the Jains to have ruled one after another. That was how the total was raised from 40 or 44 years to 100 or 104 years for the Nandas. If the interval of 198 or 202 years be accepted as true, Mahāvīra must have died between $330 + 202 = 532$ B. C., and $326 + 198 = 524$ B. C. This conclusion is a remarkable confirmation of 528 B. C. as the true date for the death of Mahāvīra. All Jain authors unanimously accept the interval of 470 years between the death of Mahāvīra and Vikrama. But, while the Śvetāmbaras count the 470 years from the accession of

Vikrama, the Digambaras count from his birth. But originally the interval of 470 years must evidently have been counted from the earlier era used by the Jains to their later one, the Vikrama era; and the earliest available Jain authorities, including some Digambaras, distinctly place Mahāvīra's death in 528 B. C. For instance, Jinasena (60.552) places the event 605 years before Śakarāja (the era of the Śaka Kings 78 A. C.), i. e. in $605 - 77 = 528$ B. C. We find the same statement in the Digambara Nemīcandra's *Mahāvīracarita* and *Trilokasūra*, and the Digambara Yati Vṛṣabha's *Trailokya-Prajñapti*. To the same effect also is Merutunga's statement in his *Vicāra-śreṇī* that the interval between Vira-nirvāṇa and the Vikrama-saṃvat was 470 years. Accepting therefore 528 B. C. as the true date of Mahāvīra's death, we arrive at $528 - 198$ or $202 = 330$ or 326 B. C., for the true date of Candragupta's anointment. There are reasons to think that 16 years should be given to Sumālya or Sukalpa. The *Mahāvamśa*, which also seems to ignore Mahānandi, gives $22 + 22 = 44$ years for the 10 sons of Kālāsoka and the Nine Nandas; and if we adopt 16 years for Sumālya or Sukalpa, the Purāṇic total for Mahāpadma and his sons come to the same figure $28 + 16 = 44$ years. The Jain Paṭṭāvalis also place Sthūlabhadra's death, which is said to have synchronised with Candragupta's anointment, in 215 or 219 years after Mahāvīra's death¹. The difference of $219 - 215 = 4$ years is evidently due to the adoption of 12 or 16 years for Sumālya or Sukalpa. If we may rely on these indications, we should adopt 16 years for Sumālya or Sukalpa, and the true and exact date of Candragupta's anointment would be $528 - 202 = 326$ B. C. Candragupta seems to have thus gained the throne of Magadha only shortly before Alexander's invasion of India.

As the total of 138 years for the 5 kings in the Pradyota list is arrived at only by adopting the minimum figures given for each individual king, we are in a position to give their exact dates. (1) Pradyota (23 years) 551-528 B. C.; (2) Pālaka (24 years) 528-504 B. C.; (3) Āryaka (21 years) 504-483 B. C.; (4) Viśākhayūpa (50 years) 483-433 B. C.; (5) Nandivardhana (20 years) 433-413 B. C. The Purāṇas say that,

1 *Indian Antiquary* (11. 246, 251).

when the Bārhadhrathas of Magadha had ceased to rule and when the Vītihotras were ruling in Avantī, the minister Munika killed his master and installed his own son Pradyota on the throne. As the Bārhadhrathas were kings of Magadha, while the Pradyotas were kings of Avantī, Pradyota must have succeeded the Vītihotras and not the Bārhadhrathas; and the master of Munika must have been the last Vītihotra king of Avantī and not Ripumjaya, the last of the Bārhadhrathas. But the Purāṇas give their account of the Pradyotas after the Bārhadhrathas and before the Śaiśunāgas, for the reasons that their rule began after the Śaiśunāgas, had obtained Magadha, and ended before the Śaiśunāgas had ceased to rule and that the Śaiśunāgas displaced the Pradyotas in Avantī also. The Purāṇas did not wish to break off their account of the Śaiśunāgas in the middle to mention the Pradyotas, who therefore are dealt with before the Śaiśunāgas are taken up. In fact, as Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has surmised, the Pradyota chronology has been thrown in parenthetically in the chronology of Magadha. If Bāṇa's *Harṣa-carita* (vi) may be relied upon, the correct name of Pradyota's father seems to have been Punika, not Munika. Pradyota is famous in Indian legend as the father of Vatsarāja Udayana's wife Vāsavadattā, and because of his mighty army, he was known as Caṇḍa Mahāsenā and feared even by Ajātaśatru of Magadha. His elder son Gopāla, desiring to be always in the company of Vāsavadattā and Udayana, resigned his right to succession in favour of his brother Pālaka, who, however, as we learn from Śūdraka's *Mṛcchakatika*, proved a tyrant and was deposed by a popular revolt in favour of Gopāla's son Āryaka, who in turn was succeeded by Viśakhayūpa. Then Avantī passed over, in all probability peacefully, to Nandivardhana of Magadha and his successors.

Now we come to the vexed question of Śaiśunāga chronology, which depends on the date of Buddha's death, which Indian tradition places in 544 B. C. But the evidence of the early Buddhist texts *Dīgha Nikāya* (Suttanta 29) and *Majjhima Nikāya* (Sutta 104) clearly favours the view that Buddha's death was later than that of Mahāvīra. When Buddha was in the Śākya village Sāmagāma, his disciples heard of Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputta's (Mahāvīra) death at Pāva and the consequent schisms among

the latter's disciples. They directly carried the news to Buddha, to get his advice as to what they themselves should do in case, as was feared, their own master should shortly die. Nigantha Nāthaputta of the Buddhist texts is certainly identical with Mahāvīra, who is believed by the Jains to have died at Pāva on Kārttika *amāvāsyā*. Buddha's disciples were evidently anxious lest the already existing differences of opinion among themselves should develop into schisms on their master's death. It is thus clear that Buddha died after, but not long after Mahāvīra.

The exact date of Buddha's death can be determined by a consideration of Ceylon chronology, as developed in the Ceylon chronicles *Dīpavaṃśa* (4th century A. C.), *Mahāvāṃśa* (5th century A. C.), *Cūlavāṃśa* (c. 1300 A. C.), *Pūjāvālī* (c. 1300 A. C.), *Nikāyasaṃgraha* (c. 1400 A. C.) and the *Rājāvalī* (c. 1700 A. C.). The intervals between the deaths of Buddha and Mahāsena, king of Ceylon, is, according to the testimony of the last three chronicles mentioned above, 844 years 9 months 25 days. As the Buddhist era of 544 B. C. had become established in Ceylon not later than 1200 A. C. (1743 A. B.), when Sāhasamalla was anointed¹, the said interval must be taken to have been given in terms of that era. In fact, the era itself seems to have been arrived at by working backwards from the known epoch of Mahāsena's death in $845 - 543 = 302$ A. C. The interval of 844 years 9 months and 25 days is arrived at only by adopting the maximum figures among the variant readings given in the *Mahāvāṃśa*. The variants occur only with regard to 5 rulers. (1) Sena and Guttaka 12 or 20 or 22 years, (2) Lañjatissa 9 years 15 days, 9 years 2 months 15 days, or 9 years 8 months; (3) Iṇāga 6 or 9 years; (4) Gaḍabāhukagāmaṇi 12 or 22 years and (5) Kaniṭṭhatissa 18 or 28 years. With regard to Lañjatissa, there can be no doubt as to which reading is to be preferred from among *addhamāsam*, *aḍḍhamāsam* and *aṭṭhamāsam*. The 9 months and 25 days of the total interval is arrived at only by adopting the reading *aḍḍhamāsam* 2½ months (cf. Hindi *aḍhāī*). Gaḍabāhu again is given 12 years only in Turnour's text; all other manuscripts and editions of the *Mahāvāṃśa* and the *Dīpavaṃśa* give 22

1 E. Muller : *Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon* No. 156.

years, which therefore must be the correct reading. As regards Sena and Guttaka and Kaniṭṭhatissa, the *Dīpavaṃśa* gives only 12 and 18 years respectively ; and as these figures are given in some manuscripts of the *Mahāvamśa* also, they must be preferred in the absence of other evidence. In the case of Sena and Guttaka, other considerations point to the minimum figure as more probably correct. They ruled Ceylon after Muṭasiva (60 years) and his 4 sons Devānampīya Tissa (40 years), Uttiya (10 years), Mahāsiva (10 years) and Sūratissa (10 years), and were themselves succeeded by a 5th son of Muṭasiva, i. e, Asela (10 years). Thus Asela would have died not earlier than his 92nd, 100th or 102nd year of age, according as we choose 12, 20 or 22 years for Sena and Guttaka. This fact too therefore confirms 12 years for Sena and Guttaka, as the correct figure. Therefore by adopting 12 years for Sena and Guttaka, and 18 years for Kaniṭṭhatissa, we bring down the date of Buddha's death from 544 to 524 B. C. Again, with regard to Ilanāga, the later chronicles assume an interregnum of 3 years in addition to his reign of 6 years. But, as the *Dīpavaṃśa* makes no mention of the interregnum, and as the *Mahāvamśa* is by no means clear that the interregnum of 3 years has not been included in the 6 years assigned to Ilanāga (35. 27 & 45), we shall perhaps have to make a further deduction of 3 years, which results in 521 B. C. as the date of Buddha's death. As Buddha has already been proved to have died after 528 B. C., 521 B. C. may be accepted as the true and exact date of Buddha's death. As this date is based on the epoch of 302 A. C. for the death of Mahāsena, it might be felt that same external confirmation for the correctness of the latter date is needful. Such confirmation is also not wanting, for Dr. Sylvain Levi has proved from Chinese history in the *Journal Asiatique* (1900. pp. 412, 421) that an embasssy arrived in China in 428 A. C. from Mo-ho-nan (Mahānāma), king of Ceylon. According to the *Cūlavamśa* (ch. 37), Mahānāma gained the throne 108 years after Mahāsena's death, and ruled for 22 years. Accepting the epoch of 302 A. C. for Mahāsena's death, Mahānāma would have ruled from 410 to 432 A. C., and an embassy from him could well have arrived in China in 428 A. C. No doubt need therefore be entertained regarding the accuracy of the date 521 B. C. for Buddha's death, deduced from Ceylon chronology. For convenience of

reference, a list of Ceylon kings down to Mahānāma is appended, with their regnal periods and dates in the Christian era.

1. Vijaya (38 years) 521-483 B. C.
Interregnum (1 year) 483-482 B. C.
2. Paṇḍuvāsudeva (30 years) 482-452 B. C.
3. Abhaya (20 years) 452-432 B. C.
Interregnum (17 years) 432-415 B. C.
4. Paṇḍukābhaya (70 years) 415-345 B. C.
5. Muṭasiva (60 years) 345-285 B. C.
6. Devānampiyatissa (40 years) 285-245 B. C.
7. Uttiya (10 years) 245-235 B. C.
8. Mahāsiva (10 years) 235-225 B. C.
9. Sūratissa (10 years) 225-215 B. C.
10. Sena and Guttaka (12 years) 215-203 B. C.
11. Asela (10 years) 203-193 B. C.
12. Elāra (44 years) 193-149 B. C.
13. Duṭṭhagāmaṇi (24 years) 149-125 B. C.
14. Saddhātissa (18 years) 125-107 B. C.
15. Thūlathana (1 month 10 days) 107 B. C.
16. Lañjatissa (9 years 2 months 15 days) 107-98 B. C.
17. Khallāṭanāga (6 years) 98-92 B. C.
18. Vaṭṭagāmaṇi (5 months) 92-91 B. C.
19. Pulahattha (3 years) 91-88 B. C.
20. Bāhiya (2 years) 88-86 B. C.
21. Panayamāra (7 years) 86-79 B. C.
22. Pilayamāra (7 months) 79 B. C.
23. Dāṭhika (2 years) 79-77 B. C.
24. Vaṭṭagāmaṇi (12 years) 77-65 B. C.
25. Mahācūḷā Mahātissa (14 years) 65-51 B. C.
26. Coranāga (12 years) 51-39 B. C.
27. Tissa (3 years) 39-36 B. C.
28. Siva (1 year 2 months) 36-35 B. C.
29. Vaṭuka (1 year 2 months) 35-34 B. C.

30. Dārubhatikatissa (1 year 1 month) 34-32 B. C.
31. Niliya (6 months) 32 B. C.
32. Anulā (4 months) 32 B. C.
33. Kuṭakappatissa (22 years) 32-10 B. C.
34. Bhātikābhaya (28 years) 10 B. C. to 19 A. C.
35. Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga (12 years) 19-31 A. C.
36. Āmaṇḍagāmaṇi (9 years 8 months) 31-41 A. C.
37. Kaṇḍirajānutissa (3 years) 41-44 A. C.
38. Cūlābhaya (1 year) 44-45 A. C.
39. Sivali (4 months) 45 A. C.
40. Ilanāga (6 years) 45-51 A. C.
41. Caṇḍamukhasiva (8 years 7 months) 51-60 A. C.
42. Yasalālakatissa (7 years 8 months) 60-68 A. C.
43. Subharāja (6 years) 68-74 A. C.
44. Vasabha (44 years) 74-118 A. C.
45. Vaṇkanāsikatissa (3 years) 118-121 A. C.
46. Gaḍabāhukagāmaṇi (22 years) 121-143 A. C.
47. Mahallanāga (6 years) 143-149 A. C.
48. Bhātikatissa (24 years) 149-173 A. C.
49. Kaṇṭṭhatissa (18 years) 173-191 A. C.
50. Khujjanāga (1 year) 191-192 A. C.
51. Kuṇḍanāga (2 years) 192-194 A. C.
52. Sirināga (19 years) 194-213 A. C.
53. Vohārikatissa (22 years) 213-235 A. C.
54. Abhayānāga (8 years) 235-243 A. C.
55. Sirināga (2 years) 243-245 A. C.
56. Vijayakumāra (1 year) 245-246 A. C.
57. Saṅghatissa (4 years) 246-250 A. C.
58. Saṅghabodhi (2 years) 250-252 A. C.
59. Meghavanna Gothakābhaya (13 years) 252-265 A. C.
60. Jetṭhatissa (10 years) 265-275 A. C.
61. Mahāsena (27 years) 275-302 A. C.
62. Siri Meghavanna (28 years) 302-330 A. C.

63. Jetṭhatissa (9 years) 330-339 A. C.
64. Buddhadāsa (29 years) 339-368 A. C.
65. Upatissa (42 years) 368-410 A. C.
66. Mahānāma (22 years) 410-432 A. C.

The evidence of Priyadarśi's inscriptions also point to 521 B. C. as the true date of Buddha's death. We learn from his rock-edict No. 13 that it was the universal misery caused by his conquest of Kalinga in his 8th year that first turned his thoughts to *dharma*; and he had become a Buddhist before his 10th year, when he visited Sambodhi (rock-edict No. 8). Then according to his minor rock-edict No. 1 he was an *upāsaka* (lay disciple) for over 2½ years, when he became more active, having joined the *Saṅgha* (brotherhood), and, at the time of his edict, such activity had extended over more than 1 year. Priyadarśi contrasts the result of his activity during the shorter period with that of his rather indifferent exertions during the previous longer period, and improves the occasion to preach a sermon on the value and necessity of exerting oneself. The activity alluded to seems to include his missions of *dharma* to his Greek neighbours. Minor rock-edict No. 1 therefore seems to have been engraved after all the rock-edicts proper had been issued, and before $10 + 2\frac{1}{2} + 1 = 13\frac{1}{2}$ years had elapsed from his anointment. It may thus be almost certainly dated in his 13th or 14th year.

This edict ends with the words "256 *vyūṭhena*", or other words to the same effect. The meaning of the word is much disputed, but, as Kauṭalya, in his *Arthaśāstra* (2. 6) explains *vyuṣṭa* as *rājavarṣa* (regnal year), it is only reasonable to infer, with Drs. Bühler, Fleet and Shama Sastri, that these words give us the date of the edict in terms of a Buddhist era, especially because in this edict Priyadarśi shows himself an ardent Buddhist. On any other interpretation, the necessity for giving the figure 256 is not obvious. But, though Dr. Bühler and others recognised the significance of this figure, they were misled by the Ceylon chronicles to date this edict at the very end of Priyadarśi's reign, for the *Mahāvamśa* (5. 21 : 20. 6), which assigns him a reign of 37 years dates his anointment in 218 A. B. Even assuming,

however, that the minor rock-edict No.1 was Priyadarśi's last edict and that 218 A. B. is the true date of his anointment, we cannot date this edict in 256 A. B., as the *Mahāvamśatikā* clearly explains that the reign period of 37 years for Priyadarśi includes the supposed 4 years' interval between his accession and his anointment. His reign would therefore have ended not in 256 A. B., but in $218 + (37 - 4) = 251$ A. B. It may also be noted that there is no indication in Priyadarśi's edicts of any such interval between his accession and anointment. Taking the minor rock-edict No. 1, therefore, by itself, we arrive at the result that, at the time it was engraved, 12 or 13 years had elapsed from his anointment, and 256 years from Buddha's death. Since Candragupta was anointed in 326 B. C., and since he and his son Bindusāra ruled for $24 + 25 = 49$ years, Buddha's death must have occurred in $326 - (24 + 25 + 12 \text{ or } 13) + 256 = 521 \text{ or } 520$ B. C. The date 521 B. C. for Buddha's death, therefore, already arrived at by a consideration of Ceylon chronology is also confirmed by the direct evidence of Priyadarśi's edicts.

It is here necessary to consider how far the *Mahāvamśa* is historically true. Dr. Geiger has shown in his *Dīpavāṃśa* and *Mahāvamśa* (tr. by E. M. Kumāraswāmi) that it is based on genuine tradition recorded in the various recensions of an older work, the *Aṭṭakathā-Mahāvamśa*. It no doubt abounds in miracles and betrays religious and racial bias, but it is essentially honest and always just. For instance, it says of the foreign usurpers Sena, Guttaka and Elāra that they ruled in accordance with *dharma* (21. 11 & 14). Its style again is modest and simple. But in two respects it proves itself unreliable. First with regard to its legends about Priyadarśi Dharmāsoka, and again with regard to the early chronology of Ceylon. The truth is that it is always reliable, when it is based on authentic sources of information, but where it merely records tradition or hearsay, caution would be needful in dealing with it. The desire to connect the landing of Vijaya in Ceylon with Buddha's death has made its early Ceylon chronology distorted and unreliable. For instance, Paṇḍukābhaya is said to have gained the throne, when he was 37 year old, and yet to have ruled for 70 years (10. 106). That is, he died at the age of 107 years. Not only so, but his son Muṭasiva, who must

have been very old when he succeeded his centenarian father, is likewise said to have ruled for 60 years (11. 4), and to have been succeeded in his turn, by his 5 sons, who ruled altogether, with 2 intervening usurpers, for 92 years at least (20. 28 & 57 ; 21. 1, 3, 11 & 12). In fact, genuine history begins for Ceylon only with the advent of Mahendra in 236 A. B., when Devānampiyatissa had just begun to rule.

With regard to Dharmāśoka, again, the *Mahāvamsā* proves itself unreliable, as it is based only on the legends of northern Buddhists. Dharmāśoka was a great patron of Buddhism, and the greatest Indian king who had espoused that faith. The Buddhist chronicles therefore betray a double tendency, to blacken his career before his spiritual rebirth, and to connect as many events of religious importance as possible with him, and thereby magnify his achievements after he joined the Saṅgha. Priyadarśi is by no means reluctant to speak of his own shortcomings. The nature of saints is to exaggerate their own failings previous to their spiritual rebirth, and Priyadarśi was no exception to this rule. But his later biographers have not only taken his confessions and regrets in their literal sense, but have even magnified his pre-Buddhistic misdeeds, for the greater glory of his religion. The value of the conversion was deemed proportionate to the magnitude of the sins. In this view, Priyadarśi is said to have gained the throne by killing all but one of his 100 brothers¹, while his own edicts (rock-edict No. 5) indicate that, even in his 13th year, he had living brothers and sisters, for whom and their families he evinces anxious care. The *Mahāvamsā* (5. 22) again states that Priyadarśi was anointed only 4 years after he gained the throne, a statement which finds no confirmation in his edicts. The *Mahāvamsā* (5. 34, 72) dates his conversion 3 years after his anointment, while, as we have seen, his own edicts indicate his 8th or 9th year for that event. Again, while the *Mahāvamsāṭīkā* shows from the original sources that Dharmāśoka ruled altogether for 37 years, the *Mahāvamsā* (20. 1-6) says that he ruled for 37 years after his anointment, but gives details which amount to 41 years after that event, thereby giving him a

1 *Mahāvamsā* (5. 20).

total reign of 45 years. With regard to his achievements as a Buddhist, Priyadarśi is known to have issued many edicts on *dharma* and tried to spread the faith even outside India, but according to the *Mahāvamsā* (5. 279), the 3rd Buddhist Council was actually held under his auspices. It is therefore certainly strange that this council should find no mention in any of his edicts. Dharmāsoka again is said (13. 8-16) to have sent his own son and daughter to spread the faith in Ceylon. Not only is this supposed fact omitted even in Priyadarśi's rock-edicts Nos. 2 & 13, where Ceylon is actually included among the countries to which he distributed medicines and sent missions of *dharma*, but, according to Fa-hien (410 A. C. tr. Legge p. 77) and Hieun Tsang (648 A. C. tr. Beal 2. 246-47), Mahendra, who converted Ceylon, was Priyadarśi's brother and not his son. It may indeed be admitted that, shortly after the 3rd Buddhist Council, Mahendra converted Ceylon in 236 A. B., and that the fact was duly recorded in the chronicles of Ceylon, but there is no ground for believing that Priyadarśi had anything to do with either of these events, or for dating his anointment in 218 A. B. against the evidence of his own edicts.

But the epoch of 218 A. B. is the basis of early Buddhist chronology and cannot have been invented. It must mark an event important for Buddhists. The truth seems to be that Priyadarśi was born in that year. If so, the Buddhist Council of 235 A. B. would have taken place in his 17th year of age, and this was probably later on misconstrued to mean the 17th year of his reign¹. Accepting this conclusion, Priyadarśi was born in 303 B. C. and as he has been proved to have been anointed in $326 - (24 + 25) = 277$ B. C., he was then perhaps 26 years old, and both the 3rd Buddhist Council and Mahendra's conversion of Ceylon had taken place before his anointment. It is thus clear why these events find no mention in his edicts. They were both past events, with which he had nothing to do. He had only to continue the good work already begun, and this he did with untiring earnestness and energy.

¹ *Mahāvamsā* (5. 280).

It is also necessary to explain how some Digambaras came to adopt for Mahāvīra's death a date 16 or 18 years before 528 B. C. We have seen that the date of Buddha's death was shifted back by 23 years sometime after the 5th century A. C. by adopting the higher figures for Sena and Guttaka and Kanitthatissa, and by assuming an interregnum of 3 years just before Iṇanāga's reign. When the Buddhists thus came to believe that Buddha died in 544 B. C., instead of 521 B. C., it seems that some Digambaras antedated Mahāvīra's death by 16 or 18 years, by counting the interval of 470 years from Vikrama's birth, instead of his anointment, so that the known priority of Mahāvīra's death to that of Buddha might be maintained while other Jains held fast to the already established date.

The way is now clear for considering the vexed question of Śīśunāga chronology. The Purāṇas make Śīśunāga the founder of the dynasty, while the Buddhist and Jain chronicles begin their accounts with Śreṇika-Bimbisāra and the *Mahāvamsa* actually makes Śīśunāga a later successor of Bimbisāra. Some modern scholars seem inclined to prefer the evidence of the Buddhist and Jain chronicles, but the reasons they give are not convincing, the chief of them being that, according to the *Matsya Purāṇa* (272. 6), Śīśunāga, having destroyed all *their* fame and having installed his son at Benares, came to Girivraja. Since this statement immediately follows the account of the Pradyotas, it is presumed that Śīśunāga must have gained the throne of Magadha after the Pradyotas had ceased to rule and could not therefore have preceded Ajātaśatru, who was the contemporary of Pradyota himself. But it has been shown above that the account of the Pradyotas is parenthetical, and Śīśunāga must therefore be deemed to have destroyed the fame, not of the Pradyotas who ruled in Avanti, but of his own predecessors in Magadha, the Bārhadrathas. Again it is urged that, as Ajātaśatru was the first king of Magadha who annexed Benares, Śīśunāga must have ruled after his time. But this is merely begging the question, as the *Matsya Purāṇa* does not state that Śīśunāga himself or any of his descendants in Magadha before Ajātaśatru ruled over Benares. On the other hand, it is clear that Śīśunāga was offered the throne of Magadha, perhaps because the Bārhad-

rathas had become extinct from want of heirs or for some other reason. So he gave up his own kingdom of Benares to an unnamed son and came over to Magadha. He was evidently the legitimate king of Benares before he became the king of Magadha, and it is significant that his capital is said to have been the old city of Girivraja, and not Rājagṛha, Campā or Pātali-putra, which in turn were the capitals of Magadha from and after the time of Bimbisāra. His accession to the throne of Magadha seems, from the terms of reference in the *Matsya Purāṇa*, and also from the length of reign (50 years) of Ripunjaya, the last of the Bārhadrathas, seems to have been peaceful and not at all by his own efforts. It is also incorrect to say that Ajātaśatru ruled over Benares till near the close of his reign, for the cause of his quarrel with the Kosala King Prasenajit was, according to the *Jātaka* (Nos. 239, 283 & 492), only a village in Benares district, which was given to Bimbisāra as the dowry of his queen Kosala-devī, but resumed by Prasenajit for the reason that Ajātaśatru, as a parricide, did not deserve to inherit it. In the war between Ajātaśatru and Prasenajit, fortune did not always favour the same side, and the quarrel was finally made up by Ajātaśatru marrying Vajirā, the daughter of Prasenajit, with the same village as her dowry. The *Mahāvamśa* too (4, 5-7), though it assigns a wrong place in the dynasty to Śīsunāga, confirms the inference that Śīsunāga was invited by the people of Magadha to rule over them.

It has been proved above that, before Candragupta, ruled Sumālya or Sukalpa for 16 years from 342 to 326 B. C., Mahāpadma for 28 years from 370 to 342 B. C., Mahānandi for 43 years from 413 to 370 B. C., and Nandivardhana for 20 years from 433 to 413 B. C. It has been inferred that in all probability Nandivardhana of the Pradyota list was identical with Nandivardhana of the Śāisunāga list. But, while the Purāṇas assign him 20 or 30 years in the Pradyota list, they give him 40 or 42 years in the Śāisunāga list. This may suggest that he had ruled for some years in Magadha, before he became king of Avantī also in all probability peacefully, for lack of heirs or other reason, as the last Pradyota king Viśākhayūpa is said to have ruled for 50 years. It is therefore needful to determine the date of his acces-

sion in Magadha from independent sources. Now, according to the *Mahāvamśa* (4. 8-64) at the end of the 10th year of Kālāśoka, 100 years after Buddha's death, the 2nd Buddhist Council of 700 *Bhikṣus* was convened by Yaśa and held at Veśālī under Kālāśoka's patronage, while according to Tāranātha (tr. Schiefner p. 41) the same Council of 700 *Bhikṣus* convened by Yaśa was held at Veśālī under the patronage of King Nandi. It is therefore clear that Kālāśoka was a title of Nandi, even as Dharmāśoka was a title of Priyadarśi. This Nandi must be Nandivardhana and not Mahānandi, as the date of the 2nd Council 100 A. B. = 521 - 100, i. e. 421 B. C. falls within the limits of the former's reign, and as the 10th year of Kālāśoka is said to have coincided with 100 A. B., Nandivardhana must have begun to rule over Magadha about $421 + 10 = 431$ B. C. He therefore became king of Magadha at the same time he gained the throne of Avantī, or shortly after. It is therefore safe to conclude that he could not have ruled for 40 or 42 years.

But, according to the *Mahāvamśa*, Kālāśoka was succeeded by his 10 sons and then the 9 Nandas, while Nandivardhana was succeeded by Mahānandī, Mahāpadma and Sumālya or Sukalpa. The 10 sons of Kālāśoka were evidently meant to set off the 9 Nandas, and it remained for the *Mahābodhivamśa* to name them all. It is clear that the sources on which the *Manāvamśa* relies for its north Indian history knew nothing of Kālāśoka's successors, as they evidently did not play any part in the history of Buddhism till the time of Priyadarśi. With regard to Kālāśoka and his predecessors, the *Mahāvamśa* says (2. 25-32; 4. 1-8) :—
 “Bimbisāra and the prince Siddhārtha were friends, and friends likewise were the fathers of both. The Bodhisattva was five years older than Bimbisāra; twenty-nine years old was he when he left his father's house. When he had striven six years and thereafter had attained to wisdom, he, being thirty-five years old, visited Bimbisāra. The virtuous Bimbisāra was fifteen years old, when he was anointed king by his own father, and when fifteen years had gone by since his coming to the throne, the Master preached his doctrine. Two and fifty years he reigned; fifteen years of his reign passed before the meeting with the Conqueror, and yet thirty-seven years of his reign followed in the

lifetime of the Tathāgata. Bimbisāra's son, the foolish Ajātasatru, reigned thirty-two years after he, the traitor, had slain his father. In the eighth year of Ajātasatru, the sage entered into nirvāṇa and thereafter did he, Ajātasatru, reign yet twenty-four years. ... When Ajātasatru's son Udayabhadraka had slain him he, the traitor, reigned sixteen years. Udayabhadraka's son Aniruddhaka slew his father and Aniruddha's son named Muṇḍa did likewise. Traitors and fools, these sons reigned over the kingdom; in the reign of these two kings eight years elapsed. Muṇḍa's son Nāgadāsaka slew his father and then did the evil-doer reign twenty-four years. Then were the citizens wroth, saying : ' This is a dynasty of parricides ', and when they had banished the king Nāgadāsaka, they met together and, since the minister known by the name Śīsunāga was proved to be worthy, they anointed him king, mindful of the good of all. He reigned as king eighteen years. His son Kālāsoka reigned twenty-eight years. At the end of the tenth year of Kālāsoka's reign a century had gone by since the parinirvāṇa of the Sambuddha".

The quiet style of this passage only sets off the absurdity of the statement that 5 kings in succession were parricides and that the citizens banished Nāgadāsaka, not when he in his turn had murdered his father, but after he had ruled for 24 years. The truth is that the style is that of the *Mahāvamsa*, but the subject-matter is a heritage from the traditions of northern Buddhists. Ajātasatru is indeed known to have been a parricide from the *Jātaku* (Nos. 239, 283 & 492) and the *Dīgha Nikāya* (Sutta 2). He imprisoned his father Bimbisāra and starved him to death, but afterwards expresses his repentance to Buddha. This fact is the nucleus round which the legend of a dynasty of parricides grew. It has also been shown that Śīsunāga has been misplaced in the above list. But otherwise there is nothing absurd or improbable in the above passage. On the contrary, it clearly indicates that Bimbisāra was not, as is believed by some modern scholars, the first king of the dynasty, as his father could not have anointed him unless he had been king himself, and, for aught we know, there might have been other kings before him. There is therefore nothing in this passage to show that Bimbisāra founded a dynasty.

If we omit Śiśunāga, the immediate predecessor of Kālāśoka was, according to the *Mahāvamśa*, Nāgadāsaka. This name seems to be a corruption of Śaiśunāga Darśaka. The prefix Nāga was evidently intended to distinguish King Darśaka from his contemporary Ācārya Darśaka, chief of Vinaya. The place of Darśaka in this dynasty is uncertain. While the Purāṇas place him between Ajātaśatru and Udayī, Bhāsa, in his *Svapnavāsavadattā*, makes him a contemporary of Pradyota, and the *Mahāvamśa* places him after Muṇḍa and before Kālāśoka. As Hemacandra, like the *Mahāvamśa*, makes Udayī the son and immediate successor of Ajātaśatru (6. 22), it seems that the Purāṇic account is incorrect. Again, Darśaka cannot have been the contemporary of Pradyota, as the entire reign of the latter synchronised with those of Bimbisāra and his immediate successor Ajātaśatru, and as he, with Mahāvīra, died before Buddha, who himself died in Ajātaśatru's 8th year. The *Mahāvamśa* is therefore probably correct in placing him after Udaya and before Kālāśoka. This inference is confirmed by the existence of a Śrī Harṣa era of 458 B. C. noticed by Alberuni in his *India* (tr. Sachau 2. 5). According to Wilson's *Viṣṇu & Purāṇa* (4. 24) Harṣaka is a variant form of Darśaka's name and it was perhaps the correct one. As we do not know of any other Harṣa who could have founded an era in 458 B. C., the Śrī-Harṣa of 458 B. C. is probably identical with Darśaka-Harṣaka. Assuming this to be true, Darśaka would have begun to rule in 458 B. C. and as he is said to have ruled for 24 or 25 years, he died probably in 434 or 433 B. C.; when Nandivardhana came to the throne. This result confirms the place assigned above to Darśaka. We may therefore definitely assign him a reign of 25 years from 458 to 433 B. C.

It may be asked whether there is any evidence to prove the use of the Śrī-Harṣa era of 458 B. C. in early times. It must be admitted that there is no definite mention by name of this era in early times. But its use can be inferred from the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela. Agreement has not yet been reached in the reading or interpretation of this important historical record, but about the passage which bears on the use of the Śrī-Harṣa era, the reading at least is not in dispute, as may be seen from B. M. Barua's *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions* (pp. 31-33). The passage in

question refers to a canal which was excavated by Nandarāja in the year 103 (*Nandarāja-tivasasatoghātita*). This Nandarāja is referred to again in the same inscription as lord of Aṅga and Magadha. He cannot therefore have been merely a local ruler, but must be identical with Mahāpadma, who was the only Nanda who could have conquered and ruled over Kalinga also, to enable him to excavate a canal in that country. We cannot interpret the passage to mean 'excavated in the year 103 of Nandarāja', as it is more natural for Khāravela to say who excavated the canal that he claims to have extended to Kalinganagara than for him to say who founded the era that he was using. In fact the passage clearly mentions both the excavator and the date of excavation of the canal. We must therefore infer that Nandarāja himself was living in the year 103 mentioned here. Neither can we interpret *tivasasata* to mean '103 or 300 years ago' or 'in the year 300', as there is no word like *pūrvam* to express the idea of 'ago', and, as the exactly analogous expression *terasavasasata* in the same inscription is admitted by all scholars, except Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, to mean '113 years' and not '1300 years'. Now, as Mahāpadma has been proved above to have ruled from 370 to 342 B. C., the year 103 must be dated in terms of an era which began between $370 + 103 = 473$ B. C., and $342 + 103 = 445$ B. C. As the era of 458 B. C. was the only one known to have been founded between these narrow limits, the use of that era about the beginning of the Christian era has thus been proved.

Just before Darśaka-Harṣaka, the *Mahāvamsa* mentions Aniruddha and Muṇḍa. Neither of these kings is mentioned in the Purāṇas or by Jain authors. But the existence of Muṇḍa is proved by the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (5. 5), which describes how king Muṇḍa of Pāṭaliputra was overcome by grief on the death of his queen Bhadrādevī. The mention of Pāṭaliputra, which is known to have been founded by Udaya in his 4th year¹, clearly indicates that Muṇḍa was a successor of Udaya. About Aniruddha, however, we have no other source of information. Muṇḍa and Aniruddha are together said to have ruled for 8 years, but as their reigns began on Udaya's death, they must have begun to rule

1 *Vāyu Purāṇa* (99, 319) ; *Sthavirāvalīcarita* (6. 180).

60 years after Mahāvīra, when, according to Hemacandra (6. 236-243), Udaya died, i. e. in $528 - 60 = 468$ B. C. Aniruddha and Muṇḍa may therefore be inferred to have ruled for 10 years from 468 to 458 B. C. Udaya ruled, according to the Purāṇas for 33 years, but according to the Mahāvamśa, for only 16 years. As we have hitherto found reasons invariably to prefer the figures given by the Purāṇas, while adhering, for the kings before Kālāśoka, to the order of succession as given in the *Mahāvamśa*, we may adopt the Purāṇic figure for Udaya also and conclude that he ruled for 33 years from 501 to 468 B. C. Ajātaśatru was Udaya's predecessor, and as Buddha died in his 8th year and in 521 B. C., his reign must have begun in $521 + 7 = 528$ B. C., and he must have ruled, as the Purāṇas say for 27 years from 528 to 501 B. C., while the *Mahāvamśa* gives him 32 years.

Ajātaśatru was known to the Jains as Kūnika, and Mahāvīra is said to have died while his war with Kosala was in progress. In fact his whole reign is said to have been spent in attacking and annexing Videha, Vaiśālī, Kāśī and a part of Kosala. The feared invasion of Pradyota did not realise, perhaps because he died shortly after the anointment of Ajātaśatru. The succession of Bimbisāra-Ajātaśatru-Udayī-Muṇḍa is confirmed by the *Aśokāvadāna*, but it omits Aniruddha and Candragupta and places between Muṇḍa and Bindusāra the kings Kākavarṇi, Sahālī, Tulakuci, Mahāmaṇḍala, Prasenajit and Nanda. Its evidence is therefore of no value whatever. Bimbisāra is assigned 28 or 38 years in the Purāṇas, and 52 years in the *Mahāvamśa*. As he was ruling Magadha when Buddha, who died at the age of 80 years in Ajātaśatru's 8th year, attained Sambodhi in his 36th year of age, he must have ruled for at least $80 - (7 + 35) = 38$ years; but as his son ruled for 27 years and his grandson for 33 years, he could not have ruled longer. We may therefore discredit the statement of the *Mahāvamśa* that he was anointed by his own father when he was only 15 years old and that he ruled for 52 years. Bimbisāra therefore ruled for 38 years from 566 to 528 B. C. He is said to have built Rājagṛha, annexed Aṅga and allied himself by marriage with Kosala and Vaiśālī. His predecessors were Śīsunāga, Kākavarṇa, Kṣemadharma and Kṣatraujas who are said to have ruled for 40, 26 or 36. 20 or 36 and 24 or 40

years respectively. Now, according to the Purāṇas, the Śaiśunāgas ruled altogether for 360 years, but unless we include the Nandas, we have 360 years for only 10 or 12 kings, with an average of 36 or 30 years. So the total of 360 years should be taken to have been meant for all the 14 kings from Śiśunāga to Sumālya or Sukalpa, in which case the average becomes 26 years. Śiśunāga, therefore, seems to have been anointed in $326 + 360 = 686$ B. C., and the total for the 4 kings from Śiśunāga to Kṣatraujas is $686 - 566 = 120$ years. If only their minimum figures are adopted, the total becomes 110 years. There is therefore a difference of $120 - 110 = 10$ years to be accounted for, and this we find in 36 years for Kākavarṇa, instead of the minimum figure of 26 years. We may, therefore, conclude that Śiśunāga ruled for 40 years from 686 to 646 B. C., Kākavarṇa for 36 years from 646 to 610 B. C., Kṣemadharma for 20 years from 610 to 590 B. C., and Kṣatraujas for 24 years from 590 to 566 B. C. Bāṇa, in his *Harsacarita* (vi), not only confirms the succession Śiśunāga-Kākavarṇa, but remarks about the latter that, after being taken in an aeroplane by a Yavana, he was killed by the latter near his own city, in revenge for his having waged war against the Yavanas. If this story be accepted as true; we have to infer that, as early as the latter half of the 7th century B. C., there was intercourse between Hindus and Yavanas, and some sort of aerial navigation was not unknown. The results of our investigation into Śaiśunāga and Pradyota chronology may now be summarised as follows :—

Śaiśunāgas

Pradyotas.

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Śiśunāga 686-646 B. C. | 1. Pradyota 551-528 B. C. |
| 2. Kākavarṇa 646-610 B. C. | 2. Pālaka 528-504 B. C. |
| 3. Kṣemadharma 610-590 B. C. | 3. Āryaka 504-483 B. C. |
| 4. Kṣatraujas 590-566 B. C. | 4. Viśākhayūpa 483-433 B. C. |
| 5. Bimbisāra 566-528 B. C. | 5. Nandivardhana 433-413 B. C. |
| 6. Ajātaśatru 528-501 B. C. | |
| 7. Udayī 501-468 B. C. | |
| 8. Aniruddha & Muṇḍa 468-458 B. C. | |
| 9. Darśaka 458-433 B. C. | |

10. Nandivardhana 433-413 B. C.
11. Mahānandi 413-370 B. C.
12. Mahāpadma 370-342 B. C.
13. Sumālya or Sukalpa 342-326 B. C.

The Bārhadhrathas, as we have seen, preceded the Saisunāgas in Magadha. They were 32 in number :—

1. Br̥hadhratha, 2. Kuśāgra, 3. Rsabha, 4. Puṣpavān, 5. Satyahita, 6. Sudhanva, 7. Ūrja-Jantu, 8. Nabhasa, 9. Jarāsamdha, 10. Sahadeva, 11. Somādhi, 12. Śrutaśrava, 13. Ayutāyu, 14. Niramitra, 15. Sukṣattra, 16. Br̥hatkarma, 17. Senajit, 18. Śrutamjaya, 19. Vibhu, 20. Śuci, 21. Kṣemaka, 22. Suvrata, 23. Dharmanetra, 24. Nirvrti, 25. Trinetra-Suśrama, 26. Dr̥dhasena, 27. Sumati-Mahinetra, 28. Sucala, 29. Sunetra, 30. Satyajit, 31. Viśvajit, 32. Ripunjaya. The individual periods given for the last 22 kings in the Purāṇas are of no value, as, even adopting the minimum figures for each king, the total for 22 kings is 790 years, yielding an average of 36 years for each. Moreover 11 of these kings are given reigns of over 30 years, and 4 of them actually over 50 years each. The total period given in the Purāṇas for the entire dynasty is 723 years, or 1000 years, yielding averages of $22\frac{1}{2}$ and 31 years for each. The total of 723 years, besides being exact, unlike the round figure of 1000 years, yields the more reasonable average, and is therefore more likely to be correct. Accepting this total, this dynasty may be deemed to have ruled over Magadha from 1409 to 686 B. C. The first 10 kings in the list are said to have ruled before the Bhārata war, and the others after. Of these latter again, the 16 kings from Senajit are called 'future' kings, evidently because the Purāṇas were originally compiled in the reign of Senajit, who is referred to as the 'present' king. Br̥hadhratha, the founder of the dynasty, is said to have been the son of Vasu, who is also called Caidya (because he came from Cedi) and Uparicara (because he had an aerial car). Kuśāgra was the founder of Girivraja, known also as Kuśāgrapura. Jarāsamdha, the father-in law of Śrī Kṛṣṇa's uncle Kamsa, was killed by Pāṇḍava Bhīma, shortly before the Rājasūya sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira. Sahadeva was killed in the Bhārata war, fighting on the side of the Pāṇḍavas. Since there were 10 kings

before the Bhārata war, that war must have been fought about 1509 - $\frac{10 \times 723}{32} = 1183$ B. C. The chronology therefore for the Bārhadrathas arrived at here would be confirmed, if it can be proved that the Bhārata war was fought about 1183 B. C.

The Bnārata war was the consequence of an astronomical misunderstanding. When the Pāṇḍavas, defeated in a game of dice, were forced to go into exile, it was agreed that their kingdom would be restored to them, if, after an exile of 12 years, they could remain undiscovered for one year. The Pāṇḍavas, who held to the lunar reckoning, claimed to have fulfilled the condition, while the Kauravas, who followed the solar reckoning, denied the claim. The difference between the two systems of reckoning amounts to a little over 5 months in 13 years. Such a misunderstanding would be impossible after the time of the *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa*, which had adjusted the two systems by the intercalation of one month at the end of every 2½ years. It is therefore clear that the war must have been fought long before the *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa* was composed. According to the *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa* (st. 7), the winter solstice always began with the sun at the beginning of Śraviṣṭhā in the month of Māgha, and the summer solstice with the sun in the middle of Āśleṣā in the month of Śrāvana. This statement enables us to calculate its exact date. It implies that the *nakṣatra* segments and not the asterisms are here referred to, and, as the middle and not the end of Āśleṣā is placed at 180° from the beginning of Dhaniṣṭhā, it is also clear that the system of equal spaces for *nakṣatras* is here used. Therefore at the time of the *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa*, the winter solstice occurred with the sun in 293° 20'. Mr. L. D. Svamikannu Pillai has proved, by astronomical calculation, in the introductory volume of his *Indian Ephemeris*, that in 532 A. C. the winter solstice occurred with the sun in exactly 270°, and that the difference between Indian and modern astronomy in the length of the sidereal year results in a slight displacement of the starting point of Indian celestial longitudes, which added to the precession results in a total difference between Indian sidereal and modern tropical longitudes of about 59" per annum or 1° for every 61 years. The Indian rate of precession must therefore be taken to be 1° for every 61 years, and as the amount of precession

from the time of the *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa* to 532 A. C. is $293^{\circ} 20' - 270^{\circ} = 23^{\circ} 20'$, the *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa* must have been composed in $23 \frac{1}{3} \times 61 - 531 = 892$ B. C., and the Bhārata war must have been fought long before that date. The positions of the solstices mentioned in the *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa* are also mentioned by Garga and Parāśara (as cited by Bhaṭṭa Utpala on the *Bṛhat-Saṃhitā* 3. 1), who deemed them so fixed that they feared serious consequences, should the sun ever swerve from them. But, as a reference to the index of Mr. F. E. Pargiter's *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* will show, there were several Gargas and Parāśaras, and it is therefore impossible to fix the identity of the astronomers so named, or to draw any inferences regarding their posteriority or otherwise to the Bhārata war.

The evidence of the later Vedic literature enables us to take back the date of the Bhārata war still earlier. According to the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* (4. 4. 10), the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (1. 1. 2; 1. 5. 1) and the later portions of the *Atharva Veda* (19. 7), Kṛttikā is invariably the first and the 'mouth' of the Nakṣatras. The reason for this seems to be that Kṛttikā then coincided with the vernal equinox. That is why the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (1. 5. 2) divides the nakṣatras into 2 groups, (1) Deva nakṣatras, i. e. nakṣatras of the northern hemisphere, beginning with Kṛttikā and ending with Viśākhā, and (2) Yama nakṣatras, i. e. nakṣatras of the southern hemisphere, beginning with Anurādhā and ending with Bharanī. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, in fact, says explicitly (2. 1. 2) that the Kṛttikā alone never swerves from the east, while all other nakṣatras do. This means, in modern astronomical language, that it coincided with the vernal equinox, and therefore its declination was nil. Even admitting that this is only a traditional statement, it would not have been repeated without qualification, if Bharanī had already come to coincide with the vernal equinox. We may therefore safely conclude that the Vedic texts mentioned above were all composed before Bharanī had already come to coincide with the vernal equinox. That the position of the vernal equinox in Kṛttikā was actually observed and recorded is indeed clear from the fact that, in later times when the vernal equinox had receded to the asterism Revatī, the *Sūrya Siddhānta* accounted for these discrepant positions of the

vernal equinox by assuming a libratory motion of 27° on either side of Revatī. Now, the apparent longitude of Bharanī is, according to all Hindu astronomical authorities, 20° and the true longitude corresponding to it is $24^\circ 41'$. The vernal equinox therefore coincided with Bharanī in $24 \frac{41}{60} \times 61 - 531 = 975$ B. C., and all the Vedic texts cited above must hence be dated before 975 B. C. Of these, the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* and the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* were compiled by Vaiśampāyana or his guru Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa, the putative father of Pāṇḍu and Dhṛtarāṣṭra and the author of the *Itihāsa* (historical epic) named Jaya, about the Bhārata war, which Vaiśampāyana amplified into the *Bhārata* 24000 stanzas, which in its turn was enlarged into the present *Mahābhārata* by Sauti. The compilation of the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* and *Brāhmaṇa* may therefore be dated shortly after the Bhārata war. The date of the later portions of the *Atharva Veda* is uncertain, but they certainly belong to about the same period, as they were compiled by Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana or his pupil Sumantu. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (13. 3. 4) mentions Janamejaya Pāri-kṣita and his brothers Bhīmasena, Ugrasena and Śrutasena, who are also mentioned as the grandsons of Arjuna Pāṇḍava's son Abhimanyu in the *Mahābhārata* (Kumbakonam ed. 1. 3. 1). The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* also may therefore be dated shortly after the Bhārata war. As all these Vedic texts compiled after the Bhārata war have been proved to date not later than 975 B. C., the Bhārata war must be dated still earlier.

The internal evidence of the *Mahābhārata* enables us not only to carry back the Bhārata war to an earlier age, but also to fix its exact date. In the first place, it is stated in the *Mahābhārata* (12. 46. 3 & 4) that Bhīṣma died shortly after the winter solstice on Māgha śukla aṣṭamī, when the moon was in Rohiṇī. This statement is no doubt not found in some editions, but it is confirmed by tradition and other statements from the *Mahābhārata* itself. Even today, Māgha śukla saptaṁī and aṣṭamī are called *Ratha saptaṁī* and *Bhīṣma Aṣṭamī* respectively. *Ratha saptaṁī* evidently means the saptaṁī on which the sun's chariot began to turn north in those days, and *Bhīṣma Aṣṭamī* means the aṣṭamī on which Bhīṣma gave up his breath. Bhīṣma, who fell on the 10th day of the battle (6. 119. 76-90), says shortly before his

death that he had lain on his bed of arrows for 58 nights (13. 273. 26-28). So when he died, 67 days should have elapsed from the beginning of the war, which was arranged for *Kārttika amāvāsya* (5. 142. 18; 6. 3. 32), and the *tithi* should therefore have been, as stated, *Māgha śukla aṣṭamī*. Also, since the *nakṣatra* on *Kārttika amāvāsya* is stated to have been *Jyeṣṭhā*, the *nakṣatra* on the 68th day therefrom should have been, as stated, *Rohiṇī*. Again, shortly before his death, Bhīṣma distinctly says (13. 273. 26-28) that the winter solstice had just begun and the *tithi* then was *Māgha śukla aṣṭamī*, with $\frac{3}{4}$ of the lunar month still to come. The *tithi* and *nakṣatra* therefore on the day of Bhīṣma's death may be taken to have been correctly stated. When Bhīṣma died, the moon was in *Rohiṇī*, i. e. between $33^{\circ} 20'$ and $53^{\circ} 20'$, according to the ancient Garga's system of unequal spaces, which must have preceded the present system of equal spaces. As the *tithi* was *aṣṭamī*, it cannot have been more than $8^{\circ} \times 12 = 96^{\circ}$ distant from the sun (for 30 *tithis* = 360°). The sun's longitude could not therefore have been less than $360^{\circ} + 33^{\circ} 20' - 96^{\circ} = 297^{\circ} 20'$; and, as Bhīṣma died within a day after the winter solstice, the sun's longitude at winter solstice could not have been less than $297^{\circ} 20' - 1^{\circ} = 296^{\circ} 20'$. The amount of precession therefore from Bhīṣma's death to 532 A. C. was not less than $296^{\circ} 20' - 270^{\circ} = 26^{\circ} 20'$. The date of Bhīṣma's death could not therefore have been later than $26 \frac{1}{3} \times 61 - 531 = 1075$ B. C.

Again Indian tradition invariably connects the Bhārata war with the beginning of the Kali age. But the nature of the connection is variously stated by different authorities. While, in the times of Āryabhaṭa (499 A. C.) and the Aihole inscription of Calukya Pulakeśin II (634 A. C.)¹ the Kali Yuga was believed to have begun from the Bhārata war itself, the Purāṇas date its beginning from the death of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. The evidence of the *Mahābhārata* is apparently conflicting. In one place (1. 2. 13), it is stated that the war took place in the interval (*antara*) between Kali and Dvāpara yugas. In another context (3. 151. 39) of the same work, Kali is referred to as having begun not long before (*acirāt*). In a third place it is said (5. 142. 7-15) that, when the

1 *Epigraphia Indica* (6. 7).

war should begin, there would be neither Kṛta, Tretā nor Dvāpara. In yet a fourth place (9. 61. 27) it is said that Kali had arrived (*prāptam*). Taken together, the four passages indicate that the Bhārata war took place after the Kali yuga had begun, but yet in the interval between Kali and Dvāpara. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (4. 24), on the other hand, states definitely that the Kali yuga could not overcome the earth so long as Śrī Kṛṣṇa's feet touched it, but that it took effect the moment he passed away. Again, in connection with the supposed movement of the Great Bear (*Saptarṣis*), Varāhamihira, in his *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā* (13. 3), says that the Saptarṣis were in Maghā, when Yudhiṣṭhira was ruling the earth, and cites Vṛddha Garga as his authority for the statement. The commentator Bhaṭṭa Utpala cites the very verse on which Varāha relies, and it says that the Saptarṣis were in Maghā in the junction (*saṁdhi*) of Kali and Dvāpara. In the opinion of Varāhamihira therefore, the reign of Yudhiṣṭhira must be placed in the junction of Kali and Dvāpara. How are these various apparently conflicting statements to be reconciled? For attempting a reconciliation, we must first understand the nature of the Yuga system. According to Hindu astronomers, Kali yuga began in 3102 B. C. But it is now recognised that this epoch was adopted by Hindu astronomers, only after the Yuga system had been transformed into astronomical cycles of integral revolutions for all the planets, for the reason that, by slightly modifying the rates of their mean motions, the epoch of 3102 B. C. served as a convenient starting point for their calculations, when by their mean motions all the planets were or could be made to be approximately at the beginning of the Āśvinī segment. The very fact that the supposed conjunction was believed to have taken place at the beginning of Āśvinī, instead of Bharanī, Kṛttikā or Rohinī proves that originally the epoch of 3102 B. C. had no connection with planetary astronomy. Besides there was and could be no such conjunction in fact at that time, and even by their mean motions, the Moon, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, Mercury and Venus were then 3°, 12°, 17°, 21°, 33° and 33° respectively removed from the beginning of Āśvinī. The epoch of 3102 B. C. could not therefore have been an invented epoch, nor could it, in its origin, have had anything to do with planetary astronomy.

But, unless it had been already called the Kali era for some reason or other, there is no reason why it should later on become associated with the Kali Yuga. It is therefore necessary to examine the origins of the Yuga system. The primary meaning of Yuga is a conjunction, and Dr. Shama Shastri has shown in his *Gavām Ayana* that the term Yuga was originally applied to a cycle of 4 years, of which the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th years were respectively called Kali, Dvāpara, Tretā and Kr̥ta. The names are taken from the game of dice, which was a popular amusement of Vedic times. The object of this cycle was to adjust the Sāvana or civil year of 360 days with the solar year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days by the intercalation of 21 days at the end of every 4 years, while the lunar year of 354 days was adjusted with the sidereal year of 366 days by the addition of 12 days at the end of the year. Later on this cycle was given up for another Yuga of 5 years in which the sidereal year of 366 days was adopted, and the lunar and solar reckonings adjusted by the intercalation of 1 month in every $2\frac{1}{2}$ years. This is the system adopted in the *Ṛedāṅga Jyotiṣa*. Side by side with these Yugas of 4 or 5 years, there was also a larger cycle of 10,000 years, which likewise is called Yuga. The *Atharva Veda*, for instance, says (8. 2. 21) "We assign thee a hundred, ten thousand years, two Yugas or three or four". This clearly indicates that a Yuga was a cycle of 10,000 years, which seems to have been divided into Kr̥ta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali Yugas of 4000, 3000, 2000 and 1000 years respectively. The number of their order in the original small cycle of 4 years seems to have been transformed into a proportion among them with their orders reversed. Thus, while Kali, Dvāpara, Tretā and Kr̥ta were the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th years of the smaller cycle, they became the last, 3rd, 2nd and 1st Yugas with the proportion of 1 : 2 : 3 : 4. The reason for this transformation is not ascertainable, but the fact is certain. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, for instance, mentions them (7. 15) in the order of the smaller cycle, while the Purāṇas and astronomical Siddhāntas mention them in the order and proportions of the larger cycle. The epoch of 3102 B. C. seems to have been called the Kali era, evidently because the smaller cycle of 4 years, beginning with Kali, started its course at that date, but later on it was confounded with the

beginning of the Kali Yuga of the larger cycle, with the consequent transfer of Yudhiṣṭhira to that distant epoch, and the utter distortion of Indian chronology. The meaning of Dvāpara or Dvīta and Tretā and 2nd and 3rd is obvious, and Kṛta was evidently so called, because it completed the cycle of 4 years; the latter came to be called Satya Yuga or the age of truth, when the Yugas acquired a moral significance and were identified with the four ages which in the West, were called the Golden, Silver, Bronze and Iron ages. But the name of Kali seems to have been derived from Sanskrit 'Kal' to count and to have acquired the sense of reckoning or era. The term is easy to understand when applied to the smaller cycle, for it would be natural to call a cycle by the name of its 1st year. But in the larger cycle it can have no meaning, unless by assuming that it had been transferred from another place where it was significant. To distinguish the smaller from the larger Yuga, the latter was called *Devānām Yuga*, i. e. yuga of the Gods. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (1. 3) also says that a Yuga of the Gods consisted of Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali Yugas of 4000, 3000, 2000 and 1000 years respectively, but adds that each Yuga was preceded by a *saṁdhyā* period and succeeded by a *saṁdhyāṁśa* period, each of them being 1/10 as long as the Yugas to which they are attached. This system may therefore be represented thus :—

- I. *Kṛta Yuga* — (1) Saṁdhyā 400 years, (2) Yuga 4000 years,
(3) Saṁdhyāṁśa 400 years. Total 4800 years.
- II. *Tretā Yuga* — (1) Saṁdhyā 300 years, (2) Yuga 3000 years,
(3) Saṁdhyāṁśa 300 years. Total 3600 years.
- III. *Dvāpara Yuga*—(1) Saṁdhyā 200 years, (2) Yuga 2000 years,
(3) Saṁdhyāṁśa 200 years. Total 2400 years.
- IV. *Kali Yuga* — (1) Saṁdhyā 100 years, (2) Yuga 1000 years,
(3) Saṁdhyāṁśa 100 years. Total 1200 years.

It is probable, as the word Saṁdhyāṁśa (portion of Saṁdhyā) indicates that the Saṁdhyā portions were first added, and the Saṁdhyāṁśa portions much later. The addition of the Saṁdhyāṁśa portions seems to have been done before the *Mahābhārata*, the *Manu Smṛti* (1. 69-71) and the *Purāṇas* had attained their pre-

sent shape, and it became easy to convert these enlarged periods for the Yugas into astronomical cycles of integral planetary revolutions by simply multiplying them by 360. That the Yugas were not astronomical in origin but only adapted by the astronomers to their own purpose is seen from the fact that, even after this process of multiplying by 360, the planets revert to their original positions of conjunction even approximately only at the beginning of each Tretā and Kali, and a minor conjunction had to be allotted to the Krta Yuga, supposed to be the first of the Yugas. Āryabhaṭa, not satisfied with this arrangement, discarded the conventional division of the Yuga in the proportion of 4 : 3 : 2 : 1, and invented a new system of 4 equal *Yugapūdas*, each of 10,80,000 years. But this system, though astronomically reasonable, never gained acceptance, as it conflicted with the traditional notions of the Yugas. The existence of an intermediate stage in the evolution of the Yugas, when they had *saṁdhyās*, but not yet *saṁdhyāṁśas* is proved by a statement cited from Megasthenes (c. 300 B. C.) by Pliny (1st century A. C.) in his *Natural History* (6. 77). According to Megasthenes, the Hindus of his time counted a period of 6451 years and 3 months for 153 Kings from Father Bacchus to Alexander. This total gives us the impossible average of 42 years each, and seems to have been arrived at by simply counting the period supposed to have elapsed from the beginning of Tretā Yuga, when Purūravas and his contemporary Ikṣvāku, the earliest of the Indian historic kings, are said in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (9. 14. 49) to have lived, down to the time of Alexander's invasion in 326 B. C. The total of 6451 years up to 326 B. C. takes us back to 6777 B. C. Applying to this starting point of the Tretā Yuga the 3 systems of 10,000, 11,000 and 12,000 years for each cycle of 4 yugas, we arrive for the beginning of the Kali Yuga and the Bhārata war at the dates $6777 - (3000 + 2000) = 1777$ B. C., $6777 - (3300 + 2200) = 1277$ B. C. and $6777 - (3600 + 2400) = 777$ B. C. respectively. The last date is for reasons stated already obviously impossible, and the first equally so, as it would give for the 22 post - Bhārata Bārhadhrathas the absurd average of $\frac{1777 - 686}{22} = 50$ years each, while the adoption of 1277 B. C. would give the reasonable average of about $\frac{1277 - 686}{22} = 27$ years for each king. The historic

Kaliyuga may therefore be concluded to have begun in 1277 B. C. This date for the beginning of the historic Kaliyuga is also confirmed by a traditional statement handed down by Āryabhata that from the beginning of the Kalpa to the Bhārata Thursday (i.e. the beginning of the Kali Yuga, according to the commentary), there had elapsed 6 Manvantaras and $27\frac{3}{4}$ Yugas (Ghatikāpāda, st. 3). Since the Manvantaras have no connection with astronomical cycles, this statement seems to record a tradition which existed previous to the origin of the astronomical cycles, in which case the Yugas referred to are evidently the smaller cycles of 4 years each, since the total extent of the supposed 14 Manus amount to 1000 yugas, and, according to Megasthenes, the historic memory of the Hindus did not reach back earlier than at the most $6777 + 4400$ (for Kṛtayuga) = 11177 B. C. The period therefore of 6 Manvantaras and $27\frac{3}{4}$ yugas amounts to $\frac{6}{14} \times 1000 \times 4 + 27\frac{3}{4} \times 4 = 1825$ years, which, being counted from 3102 B. C. when the smaller yuga cycle began its course, leads us to $3102 - 1825 = 1277$ B. C. as the beginning of the Kali Yuga proper, i. e. exactly the same date already arrived at above. But since the Kali Yuga proper was preceded by a *sam̐dhyā* period of 100 years, the period from 1277 to 1177 B. C. would be the interval between the Kali and Dvāpara Yugas. It is now easy to explain the apparently contradictory statements about the Bhārata war. If it had taken place between 1277 and 1177 B. C., it would be correct to say that the war was fought in the interval between Kali and Dvāpara (Kali-Dvāpara-sam̐dhi), and that the Kali Yuga had begun before the war, but had not yet taken any effect. This taking effect of the Kaliyuga, i. e., the beginning of Kali proper, as distinguished from its *sam̐dhyā* period, synchronised, according to the Purāṇas, with the death of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, which event may therefore be definitely dated in 1177 B. C. Strangely enough, the so-called Paraśurāma era began in this very year. The Kollam Āṇḍu, of which it is now the 1105th year, is supposed to date from the foundation of the city of Quilon in $1929 - 1104 = 825$ A. C., but this is a mistake due to the confusion of 'Kollam', in the sense of year or era, with the city so named. Dr. Buchanan and Lt. Col. Warren, who wrote more than a 100 years ago, noted that in 1800 A. C., 2 cycles of 1000 years each plus 976 years of the third cycle had elapsed, so that the era must have begun in 2976 -

1799 = 1177 B. C. Later on, however, i. e., since the time of Buchanan and before the time of Warren, the years of the Kollam era were mistaken to be current years, and thus the starting point of the era was shifted forward by 1 year to 1176 B. C. There is no ground whatever to think that the Kollam era had any connection with the foundation of Quilon, and it was evidently associated with Paraśurāma only for the reason that it was used from very early times in Malabar, which is popularly believed to have been reclaimed from the sea by Paraśurāma. Mr. V. Gopal Aiyar believed the date to have been the beginning of the Kali Yuga, which, as has been shown above, must be dated 100 years earlier in 1277 B. C. The era of 1177 B. C. really begins, as we have seen, from the death of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, who became the most popular God of the Hindus, and this event is said in the *Mahābhārata* (11.25.44-45 ; 16. 1 ; 16. 2. 2 ; 16. 3. 20) to have happened in the 36th year. This is usually interpreted to mean the 36th year after the Bhārata war, but in that case it is difficult to understand why, when, on hearing the news of their great friend Śrī Kṛṣṇa's death, the Pāṇḍavas, who had resolved to abdicate and anoint Parikṣit, the son of Abhimanyu, should think it necessary to direct Subhadra and Kṛpa to protect him in his youth (17. 1. 7, 9 & 14), when, having been born a few months after the Bhārata war, he should have been at least 35 years old and quite able to take care of himself. If the 36th year is counted from the Bhārata war, it is also difficult to understand why the leisurely epic, which shows a great love of details, should mention no incidents between the 18th and 36th years, but on the other hand, after mentioning that Dhṛtarāṣṭra died 18 years after the war (15. 41. 25), immediately proceeds to narrate the destruction of the Yādavas and the death of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. We have therefore to accept Dr. Fleet's suggestion that the 36th year, in which Śrī Kṛṣṇa is said to have died, must be counted, not from the Bhārata war, but from Yudhiṣṭhira's 1st anointment at Indraprastha after the Rājasūya sacrifice. As the Pāṇḍavas ruled for about a year there, before their 13 years' exile began, the Bhārata war must have taken place in the 15th year after Yudhiṣṭhira's first anointment, and $36 - 15 = 21$ years before the death of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. Now it is clear that, at the time of the Pāṇḍavas' abdication, only 3 years had elapsed since the death of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, and Parikṣit was only 21 years old, and

therefore needed protection for a few years more. Accepting these conclusions, the date of the Bhārata war should be $1177 + 21 = 1198$ B. C.

This date for the Bhārata war not only approximates to the date 1183 B. C. arrived at already by the law of averages from a consideration of Bārhadhratha chronology, but it is also confirmed by the astronomical data of the *Mahābhārata* itself. The Bhārata war is said to have been preceded by several evil omens, including astrological aspects of the planets. As planetary astrology belongs to a much later period, these references seem to be later additions, and some of them are even astronomically impossible, like the statement (6. 3. 14) that Mars was retrograde in Maghā in the month of Kārttika, or the other statement (6. 3. 28) that the sun and the moon were both eclipsed on the same day. But there are undoubtedly genuine astronomical data mentioned in this context, i. e., shortly before the Bhārata war, Mars turned back from Jyeṣṭhā to Anurādhā (5. 143. 9) and Jupiter and Saturn were near the two Viśākhās (*Viśākhayor samīpasthu Bṛhaspati Sanaiścarau* 6. 3. 27). Again on the first day of the war, just before the battle began, a little after day-break (6. 16. 1) the 7 planets were said to have shone together in the sky (6. 17. 2). These data are neither astronomically impossible, nor, on the face of it, improbable for some reason or other. It is significant that the planetary positions are given, not with reference to the solar signs (*rāśis*) as in later times, but in relation to the lunar asterisms themselves, as the reference to the two Viśākhās implies. They seem to have been due to direct observation, and are just the phenomena, particularly the 7 planets shining together, which, if true, are likely to have struck the imagination of the beholders and been deemed worthy of being recorded for the benefit of future generations. There is no difficulty in the way of their having been directly observed, if, as is possible and probable, the sun had been clouded for a short period. Accepting the data, therefore, to be genuine and true, we may test them with regard to 1198 B. C. as the date of the Bhārata war. Calculating with the aid of Mr. Svamikannu Pillai's tables, we find that on 16th October 1198 B. C., which was the day of Kārttika *amāvāsya*, the positions of the planets at daybreak were Sun 219° , Jupiter 214° , Saturn

215°, Mars 214°, Mercury 229° and Venus 233°, all within a few degrees (19° at the most) of each other, while the moon was in Anurādhā at daybreak, and in Jyēṣṭhā in the evening (at the time of new Moon as required by 5. 142. 18). It may be noted that, as required by the data noted above, in 1198 B. C. Mars was between the asterisms of Anurādhā (224°) and Viśākha (213°) in Anurādhā segment (213° 20' to 226° 40'), Jupiter and Saturn were only 1° and 2° from Viśākha asterism (213°) and may therefore be well said to have been near the two Viśākhās and on the 1st day of the war, the 7 planets actually shone together in the sky, shortly after daybreak. It would be difficult, if not impossible, to find another date satisfying the given astronomical data equally closely or even approximately. After this conclusive evidence, there cannot be any reasonable doubt that 1198 B. C. is the true and exact date of the Bhārata war.

Doubts are, however, entertained by some modern scholars whether the planets were known to the Hindus in such early times. In the first place, to distinguish the planets from stars is one thing, and to be able to calculate their rates of motion and positions is quite another thing. The Hindus were, no doubt, unable to calculate the motions of planets till much later times, but such constant and expert star-gazers as the ancient Hindus could not have failed to distinguish the moving planets from the fixed stars, and to note their positions, if required, not by calculation, but by direct observation in relation to lunar asterisms, as in the *Mahābhārata*. It is indeed significant that the Hindu planetary names are of purely Indian origin, and nothing but an unfortunate prejudice against the antiquity of Hindu culture, which characterises the latter generation of European Orientalists, has stood in the way of recognising clear references to the planets in the *Rg Veda* (1. 105. 10; 10. 55. 3; 3. 183), *Atharva Veda* (19. 9. 7), *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* and *Maitrāyaṇī Upaniṣad* (6. 16. 7. 1). J. Bentley has indeed proved, in his *Historical View of Hindu Astronomy* (p. 4), that the legend of the Moon begetting Venus, Mercury, Jupiter and Mars on Maghā, Rohiṇī, Pūrva Phalgunī and Āṣāḍha, thereby causing them to be named as stated in *Amara* (1. 3. 26), *Herakośa* (4. 237; 6. 56) and *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Maghābhū, Rauhineya, Pūrva-Phalgunī-bhava and Āṣāḍha-bhava respectively, must have arisen from an observation within a single

year of occultations of these planets by the moon in the respective mansions, and that therefore the planets can be proved, by astronomical calculation, to have been independently discovered by the Hindus in and only in 1425 B. C. These positions of the moon and the planets could not have been invented by backward calculation in later times, for then we should expect them to have been named after the solar signs and not the *nakṣatras*, and it would be difficult to explain why that particular epoch should have been chosen for naming the planets. If, therefore, the planets had been discovered in 1425 B. C. by the Hindus, there is no reason to discredit the astronomical data of the *Mahābhārata* merely on the ground that the planets are mentioned.

It has been seen that the earliest memories of the Hindus date back to 3102 B. C., which originally marked the beginning of the *Kalpa* (historic time) and as, according to the Purāṇas, Svāyam-bhuva Manu was the earliest creation of Brahma, in all probability it was his epoch. His son Uttānapāda was the father of Dhruva and the eldest king of the Vairāja dynasty. The 7 Ṛṣis, known as the Saptarṣis, were his contemporaries, and the Saptarṣi era of 3077 B. C., or according to Lalla, 3088 B. C., probably marks the date of their death, when the constellations of the Great Bear were named after them. It is probable that the correct date of this event was 3088 B. C., and that this was later on corrected to adjust it to the Kali epoch of 1277 B. C., by an imaginary motion of the Great Bear at the rate of one *nakṣatra* for every century. As, according to Garga, the Great Bear was in Maghā in the *Kali-Dvāpara-saṁdhi*, i. e., between 1277 and 1177 B. C., they must have been supposed to have occupied Jyesthā in 3088 B. C., as in the 19th previous century they must be taken back to the 19th previous *nakṣatra*. The reason for the Saptarṣi cycle beginning with Jyesthā must evidently be that Jyesthā, as its name indicates, was supposed to have been the eldest-born of the *nakṣatras*. Even as the Great Bear was named after the 7 Primeval Ṛṣis on their death, the pole-star seems to have been called Dhruva, after his death, because, even as Dhruva was famed for his determination and energy of purpose, the pole-star of that age was considered immovable. The only two stars of any considerable magnitude that could be or have been the pole-stars between 5000

B. C. and 2000 A. C., and at the same time worthy of being regarded as immovable are, as Dr. Jacobi pointed out, α Draconis which was only 6' distant from the North Pole in 2780 B. C., and α Ursæ Minoris, which will be 28' distant from the same point in 2100 A. C. The only star therefore that could have been called Dhruva by the Hindus must be α Draconis, which may be regarded as having been immovable for 3 or 4 centuries before and after 2780 B. C., when it was at its minimum distance from the North Pole. This inference is quite consistent with the date of Dhruva, who was the grandson of Svāyambhuva Manu and therefore must have lived in the 31st century B. C.

The Vairāja dynasty, however, ruled in the Kṛta Yuga, i. e. the pre-historic period of the Hindus. This Yuga came to an end with the Flood, and, according to the Purāṇas, the only survivors were Vaivasvata Manu and 7 other Ṛsis of the Tretā Yuga. The Kṛta Yuga is also referred to in the *R̥gveda* (10. 72. 2) as the 1st Yuga of the Gods (*Devānām prathama yuga*) and the deluge at its end is mentioned in the *Taittīriya Saṃhitā* (7. 1. 5), *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (7. 5. 1. 5) and *Kāthaka Saṃhitā* (11. 2). The date of the Flood (now substantiated by excavations in Iraq as a historical fact), according to the Christian Bible, is, 2501 B. C.¹ The earliest memories of the Ceylon chronicles, particularly the *Rājāvalī*, go back to 1844 years before the Sambodhi (enlightenment) of Buddha, i. e. to $1844 + 521 + 45 = 2410$ B. C., though, as usual, the date has been mis-applied to the invasion of Laṅkā by Śrī Rāmacandra. The identification of Laṅkā with Ceylon is doubtful, if the astronomers are correct in making its longitude identical with that of Ujjain, and the date of Śrī Rāmacandra cannot be carried back to such an early period, if the Purāṇas are correct in placing 30 generations at the most between his time and that of the Bhārata war, as otherwise we would get an average of $\frac{2410 - 1198}{20} = 40$ years for a generation. The Ceylon epoch of 2410 B. C. therefore must mark some other notable early event of Ceylon, in all probability its settlement by the Rākṣasas, the earliest known inhabitants of Ceylon. The Flood may therefore be deemed to have happened

1. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th Ed., (3. 866),

some time before this event. According to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (8. 24) the Flood happened in India in the time of the Drāviḍa King Satyavrata, who afterwards came to be known as Śrāddha-deva Manu, son of Vivasvān. Since Purūravas, who lived at the beginning of Tretā Yuga, was, according to the same Purāṇa, (9. 1) born of this Manu's daughter Ilā, the Flood may also be dated at or shortly before the beginning of Tretā Yuga, which therefore must have begun in or shortly after 2501 B. C. the Biblical date of the Flood. Curiously enough, we have another misapplied Indian epoch of about this time. According to Varāhamihira (13. 3) the Ṛṣis (Great Bear) were in Maghā in the time of Yudhiṣṭhira 2526 years before the Śaka era, i. e., in $2526 - 77 = 2449$ B. C. This date, 2449 B. C., seems really to have marked the beginning not of the Kali, but of the Tretā Yuga. Bentley and Cunningham no doubt suggest that this date was arrived at by calculation from the position in Maghā of the Saptarṣis. But since the motion of the Ṛṣis is not real, it is probable that the rate of motion was so adopted as to suit their position in Maghā in a real epoch of 2449 B. C. Mr. Svamikannu Pillai has shown, in the introductory volume of his *Indian Ephemeris*, that on the 2nd March 2449 B. C. there was an approximate but real conjunction of the Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter and Saturn in Kṛttikā. So according to Hindu notions, the date befits the beginning of a new Yuga particularly Tretā or Kali, and it is remarkable that a conjunction of the same planets between 2514 and 2436 B. C., i. e. on the same date and in the same constellation was assumed as an epoch by the Chinese Emperor Chuen-hio. We may therefore safely conclude that the Tretā Yuga really began from 2449 B. C.

Now the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (9. 14. 48-49) explicitly states that the Vedas were first revealed through Purūravas only at the beginning of Tretā Yuga. This statement is confirmed by the names of the Nakṣatras. As mentioned already, Jyeṣṭhā was so called, because it was deemed the eldest-born of the *nakṣatras*. It was also called in ancient times Rohiṇī, like the other asterism $230^{\circ} - 48^{\circ} = 182^{\circ}$ from it, i. e. at the opposite end of the equator. A very ancient legend about the Moon says that originally he spent all his time with Rohiṇī, but was compelled by his father-

in-law Dakṣa thereafter to spend his time equally with all the *nakṣatras*. The latter part of the statement no doubt refers to the equal-space system of the *nakṣatras*, but the former part evidently implies that both the Rohiṇis marked equinoxes and therefore the Moon spent a disproportionate amount of time with the Rohiṇis. Mūla was evidently so named, because with Rohiṇi at the vernal equinox, Jyeṣṭhā would be at the autumnal equinox, and Mūla would be below the equator. It may therefore be then well named the 'root' of the *nakṣatras*. We may therefore date the origin of the *nakṣatras* back to the time when the vernal equinox was in 49° and the autumnal equinox at 229° , i. e. in about $49 \times 61 - 531 = 2458$ B. C. The origin of the *nakṣatras* therefore agrees remarkably closely with the beginning of the Tretā Yuga, when, according to Hindu tradition, they were born as daughters to Dakṣa.

The end of the Vedic age cannot be later than that of Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana who compiled the Vedas shortly before or after the Bhārata war. But it cannot be earlier than that period, as some of the hymns of the *R̥gveda* were composed as late as the burning of the Khāṇḍava forest by Arjuna Pāṇḍava. The *Sarvānukramaṇī* to the *R̥gveda* (10. 142) notes that the hymn referred to was composed by the Śārṅgas Jaritri, Droṇa, Śārisrikta and Stambamitra. These same four Śārṅgas Jaritri, etc., are said in the *Mahābhārata* (1. 254-260) to have escaped death by burning in the Khāṇḍava forest, when it was burned by Arjuna, and to have prayed to Agni for being saved on the occasion. This valuable datum was discovered by Mr. Sitanath Pradhan, who has thereby fixed the lower limit of the Vedic age. The Vedic age may thus be inferred to have been covered by the Tretā and Dvāpara Yugas. It may therefore be definitely dated between 2449 and 1198 B. C. This inference is confirmed by a passage of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (10. 4. 2), which indicates that the number of syllables of the *R̥gveda* 432,000, corresponds to the number of days in the Vedic age, which therefore extended approximately over $\frac{432000}{360} = 1200$ years, while the interval between 2449 and 1198 is one of 1251 years. It is impossible in this paper to consider the genealogies of the various dynasties who ruled before the Bhārata war, as the subject is wide enough to deserve separate treatment, and justice cannot be

done to it within a few pages, which is all that can be allotted to it in a paper devoted to the consideration of chronological problems. We may therefore now return to Candragupta Maurya and his successors in Magadha.

The Mauryas are said to have been 10 in number and to have ruled altogether for 137 years. But the aggregate of even the minimum figures of each reign amounts to 145 years. There is therefore an excess of $145 - 137 = 8$ years, which has to be accounted for. Now Kunāla, the son of Priyadarśi Dharmāśoka, is said to have ruled for 8 years. This cannot be true, as according to Buddhist legends, he was blinded by the machinations of his step-mother Tiṣyarakṣitā. Omitting him therefore from the list, the Maurya chronology may be settled as follows :—

1. Candragupta (24 years) 326-302 B. C.
2. Bindusāra (25 years) 302-277 B. C.
3. Priyadarśi (36 years) 277-241 B. C.
4. Daśaratha (8 years) 241-233 B. C.
5. Samprati (9 years) 233-224 B. C.
6. Śāliśūka (13 years) 224-211 B. C.
7. Somadharma (7 years) 211-204 B. C.
8. Śata-dhanva (8 years) 204-196 B. C.
9. Brhadratha (7 years) 196-189 B. C.

Of Candragupta, enough has been said already, and it only remains to add that, in later life, he seems to have become a Jain, and, according to Jain tradition, he then abdicated and became the disciple of the *śrutakevali* Bhadrabāhu, finally giving up his life by voluntary starvation on Candragiri, which was named after him since his death. According to the *Muāra-Rākṣasa*, Cāṇakya seems to have resigned his position as the chief minister of Candragupta, when he had succeeded in his attempts to bring over Nanda's minister Rākṣasa to the side of Candragupta. But, according to Hemacandra (ch. 8), Cāṇakya continued to remain as Candragupta's minister throughout his reign, but when, Bindusāra came to the throne, he associated the poet Subandhu with himself as minister. Subandhu, however, proved ungrateful and succeeded in alienating Bindusāra from him by alleging that

Cāpakya had caused the death of Bindusāra's mother, and finally putting him out of the way. This curious story seems to be confirmed by other circumstances. In the first place, the *Mahāvamśaśikā* narrates how Cāpakya, to save his protege Candragupta from being poisoned, used to give him progressively increasing doses of poison, but Candragupta's pregnant queen unfortunately drank one day a cup intended for her husband and died in consequence, but Cāpakya ripped open her stomach and brought out the embryo, which, after gestation in the wombs of goats, was born as Bindusāra, so named, because of a drop of poison which had left its mark on him. The poet Subandhu again is mentioned in the *Brhat-kathā* as the Brāhmaṇa, who was brought in to displace Cāpakya from his promised seat at the *Śrūddha* in Nanda's palace. Finally, we have the evidence of Subandhu himself, who, according to Vāmana's *Kūṣyālamkāra* (3. 2. 2) is reported to have aspired to become the minister of Candragupta's son Candraprakāśa and therefore wrote a stanza in praise of that prince, when he had just become king as the 'refuge of the learned'. According to Mr. A. Rangaswami Sarasvati, this verse is taken from a play of Subandhu called *Vāsavadattū-Nāṭyadhūra*, extracts from which are found in later works on rhetoric. Hemacandra's story may therefore be accepted as true, and we have to infer that, though on winning over Rākṣasa, Cāpakya was desirous of resigning his ministry, Candragupta could not dispense with his patron's counsel. Bindusāra, as has been noted, seems to have been a nick-name of Candraprakāśa, who was known to the Greeks only by his title Amitraghāta. Priyadarśi seems to have been the personal name of the king known later as Dharmāśoka or simply Aśoka, as his edicts, with one exception (the Maski edict) invariably refer to him by that name alone. He seems also to have ruled only for 36 years, and the 37 years of the *Mahāvamśa* was evidently only a close approximation. As, according to Hemacandra (9. 50-52), Samprati was also a son of Kunāla and grand-son of Priyadarśi, he must have been Daśaratha's brother, but as Daśaratha is known from his inscriptions to have actually ruled shortly after Priyadarśi, we cannot accept Hemacandra's statement that Samprati was the immediate successor of Priyadarśi. The fact seems to be that Jain writers seem

generally inclined to omit minor kings, if they happened to profess another faith; and Daśaratha seems, from his inscriptions, to have favoured the Ājīvakas. Samprati, however, was a great patron of Jainism, and the Jains regard him even today as a royal saint. He occupies the same place in Jain legends that his grand-father did in those of the northern Buddhists. Curiously enough, however, the Buddhist romance, *Āśokāvadāna* (a part of *Divyāvadāna*) supports Hemacandra, as against the Purāṇas and Daśaratha's own inscriptions, in making Samprati the immediate successor of Priyadarśi. It is therefore possible that the order of succession of Daśaratha and Samprati has to be transposed. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* calls Kunāla by the name of *Suyāśa*, while the *Vāyu Purāṇa* calls Daśaratha and Samprati by the names of Bandhupālita and Indrapālita. Here again we have to infer that Suyāśa, Bandhupālita and Indrapālita were titles or alternative names of Kunāla, Daśaratha and Samprati. The next king Śāliśūka has the distinction of being mentioned in the *Yuga-Parāṇa* of the *Gārgī Saṁhita*, but nothing is known of his two successors Somadharma (called in some Purāṇas Devadharma) and Śata-dhanva. Br̥hadratha, however, the last of the Mauryas, is said in the Purāṇas to have been killed by his general Puṣyamitra, who founded the Śuṅga dynasty. His name has a variant Br̥hadaśva, but the form Br̥hadratha is confirmed by Bāṇa, who, in his *Harṣa-carita* (vi) gives us the interesting detail that, under the pretence of reviewing his forces, Br̥hadratha was killed by his general Puṣyamitra in the presence of the army. If this statement is true, the army must have been at the back of Puṣyamitra, who seems to have led a popular revolt against Maurya misrule. The unreliability of the *Āśokāvadāna* is seen further in its account of the successors of Samprati, which includes not only unknown kings like Br̥haspati, Vṛṣasena and Puṣyadharma, but even Puṣyamitra whom it describes as of Maurya descent.

Puṣyamitra is assigned a reign of 36 years in the Purāṇas and 30 years in the Jain accounts, but, in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* and the recently discovered Śuṅga inscription of Ayodhyā, he is invariably referred to as Senāpati (general). He seems therefore to have ruled without assuming the royal title. The Śuṅga total of 112 years in the Purāṇas tallies with the aggregate of indivi-

dual figures only by adopting the minimum figures and a reign of only 30 years for Puṣyamitra, who seems therefore to have reigned only for 30 years, as is stated in the Jain accounts. Puṣyamitra seems to have been an ardent Hindu, as Patañjali, the grammarian, claims to have performed sacrifices on his behalf, and as, according to the Ayodhyā inscription mentioned above, he is said to have twice performed *aśvamedha* (horse-sacrifice). One of these horse-sacrifices is also mentioned in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, which adds the detail that, in the course of the preparatory expedition, Puṣyamitra's grandson Vasumitra came into conflict with Yavanas (Greeks). The Yavanas seem to have even raided Sāketa and Madhyamika, according to Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, but the raid was repelled. This Yavana invasion must be identified with that of Demetrios mentioned by Strabo (11. 11), and not with the much later one of Menander who, according to the *Milinda Praśna*, lived 500 years after Buddha, i. e. in the 1st century B. C. The apocryphal *Gārgī Saṁhitā* goes much further when it says that the Yavanas, after reducing Sāketa, Pañcāla and Mathurā, actually reached Pāṭaliputra, which is incredible. Puṣyamitra's orthodoxy went so far as to persecute Buddhists, if Tāranātha (tr. Schiefner, p. 81) may be relied upon. But the stories of religious persecutions in India cannot be accepted without confirmation from independent sources, as the ancient kings of India were usually tolerant of other faiths, while the sectaries were as usually unveracious in their religious histories, as may be seen from the alleged persecutions of Buddhists and Jains by Kumārila and Sambandha. Puṣyamitra's son Agnimitra waged, according to the *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa, a successful war with Yajñasena, king of Vidarbha, and claimed to be a Baimbika (4. 14). This reference, discovered by Mr. H. A. Shah, is interpreted by him to mean that the Śuṅgas were descendants of Bimbisāra. This is probable, but it cannot therefore mean that Bimbisāra was the 1st king of the Śāisunāga dynasty, even as Kakutstha, Raghu, Puru, Bharata and Kuru were not founders of their dynasties, though their descendants are called Kākutsthas, Rāgbavas, Pauravas, Bhāratas and Kauravas. Of Agnimitra's successors, his son Vasumitra, as seen already, repelled the Yavanas on behalf of Puṣyamitra, but, according to Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* (vi), was killed

by Mitradeva in the midst of actors, of whose company he was inordinately fond. Bhāgavata, another of Agnimitra's successors, is mentioned in his inscription at Besnagar and is perhaps identical with Bhāgabhadra, to whose court the Yavana ambassador of Antalkidas had come, when he erected the Garuḍa column at Besnagar in honour of Bhagavān Vāsudeva, the 'God of Gods'. The last Śuṅga king of Magadha, Devabhūti was killed for some sexual offence by his own minister Kāṇva Vāsudeva, who founded a short-lived dynasty of his own, of which 4 kings, including himself, ruled altogether for 45 years. But the Śuṅgas were not thereby completely destroyed, as some 'Mitra' kings are found ruling for about another century in Ayodhyā and Mālva, the most notable of them being Bahasatimitra of Magadha (?) whom Kāravēla claims to have defeated, Kavimitra Vikramāditya of Mālva, the famous foe of the Śakas and the founder of the Vikrama era (58 B. C.) and Agnimitra Śūdraka, the king of Vidiśā and author of the *Mṛcchakatikā*. Of these and their contemporary Śakas, Kuṣanas and Āndhras, nothing more can be said here for want of space and because they deserve a separate treatment. But it must be noted that the Kāṇvas at any rate were displaced by the Āndhras, whose first king Simuka Sātavāhana is said to have killed the last Kāṇva Suśarma.

The Śuṅga and Kāṇva chronology may now be set forth as follows :—

Śuṅgas

1. Puṣyamitra (30 years) 189-159 B. C.
2. Agnimitra (8 years) 159-151 B. C.
3. Sujyeṣṭha (7 years) 151-144 B. C.
4. Vasumitra (8 years) 144-136 B. C.
5. Andhraka (2 years) 136-134 B. C.
6. Pulindaka (3 years) 134-131 B. C.
7. Ghoṣavasū (3 years) 131-128 B. C.
8. Vajramitra (9 years) 128-119 B. C.
9. Bhāgavata (32 years) 119- 87 B. C.
10. Devabhūti (10 years) 87- 77 B. C.

Kāṇvas

- | | | |
|---------------|--------------|---------------|
| 1. Vāsudeva | (9 years) | 77 - 68 B. C. |
| 2. Bhūmimitra | (14 years) | 68 - 54 B. C. |
| 3. Nārāyaṇa | (12 years) | 54 - 42 B. C. |
| 4. Suśarma | (10 years) | 42 - 32 B. C. |

It is significant that, with the exception of Puṣyamitra and Bhāgavata, all the other kings in the above list are said to have had very short reigns. The reasons are obvious, internal dissensions and foreign aggression. It was evidently a time of violence and misrule. The Kali Yuga, which began in 1277 B. C., and in the 3rd century B. C. was believed to consist of 1100 years including the *saṁdhyā* period, must have been believed to have ended in 177 B. C., and the Kṛta Yuga (the golden age) to have begun at the same date; and as at that time Puṣyamitra, the pillar of Hindu orthodoxy, was reigning, the signs of the coming age seemed propitious. It is even probable that in 177 B. C., a new era deemed auspicious (*praśasta*) and called Kṛta (Kṛta-saṁjñita) was started which is found used in early Mālva inscriptions. But with Puṣyamitra's death, all the hopes of the Hindus were dashed to the ground, and they found the evils of the Kali age more rampant than ever. It must have been at this time that the *saṁdhyā* periods were added to the duration of the Yugas, and the life of the Kali Yuga extended to 77 B. C. But, as even then the times had not improved, all attempts to adjust the system of the Yugas to actual facts were finally abandoned. till in the 5th century A. C., the astronomers took up the Yuga system and adapted it to their own purposes, distorting it out of recognition.

It is hoped that this humble attempt to solve some problems of Indian chronology will meet with the critical appreciation of scholars, though many of the facts, arguments and conclusions therein may fail to meet with their approval. The object of this paper will have been served if it helps in the least degree to throw fresh light on some obscure corners of Indian chronology, or even if it only serves to stimulate competent scholars to make more fruitful enquiries on the topics dealt with herein.

THE *VĪNĀ* IN ANCIENT TIMES

BY

N. B. DIVATIA, B. A.

We hear this word, *vīṇā*, so often in Sanskrit literature and in such a variety of suggested ideas, that few have paused to consider its correct description. This very fact should make us pause and think. Let us inquire closely. In this connection we shall have at the outset to find out how this musical instrument was played upon. The *Amarakośa* has :—

कोणो वीणादिवादनम् ॥ १-७-६ ॥

Maheśvara in his commentary on this says :—

वीणादि वाद्ये येन तद् धनुराकृति काष्ठं कोण उच्यते ॥

This distinctly shows that a bow was used to play upon certain instruments of which *vīṇā* was one. This would indicate that instruments like the *sāraṅgī* or the *dilrubā* which are played upon with a bow can be included under the term *vīṇā*. True, these, especially the *dilrubā*, are modern articles. An instrument called the *esrāj* in Bengal is played upon with a bow. I saw it at Darjiling once in a gathering of Bengali ladies and gentlemen. It may safely be conjectured that some predecessors of the *sāraṅgī* and the like were in use in ancient times and the bow was used to produce music therefrom. The *bīn*, so widely in vogue in the Karnataka and the Madras Presidency, is always played upon with the finger-nails or with a nail-protector made of iron-wire, known as *mijrāb* amongst *satār* players in Urdu language, or *nakhī* in Gujarati. And considering that the word, *bīn*, is obviously derivable from Sanskrit वीणा (*vīṇā*), we cannot help concluding that the *vīṇā* of ancient times meant some such instrument and that it was played upon, not with a bow, but, with the finger-nails. We have several references to this fact in Sanskrit literature; thus :

In the *Pratijñā Yaugandharāyaṇa* (one of the Bhāsa plays), Act II, st. 12, we find the following :

श्रुतिमुखमधुरा स्वभावरक्ता
करजमुखोल्लिखिताग्रघृष्टतन्त्री ।
कपिवचनगतेव मन्त्रविद्या
गजहृदयानि बलाद् वशीकरोति ॥

The king speaks of the *vīṇā* in this verse and the second line tells us that it was played upon with the finger-nails.

In *Kādambarī* in the description of the *Kumārīpurābhyaṅgara* we read वीणासु कररुहव्यापारान्. In this *parisaṃkhyā ālaṃkāra* we see that the finger-nails struck the *vīṇā*-strings.

Again, in the same work in the description of *Mahāśvetā* playing upon the *vīṇā*, we read :—

उत्सङ्गतां च स्वसुतामिव सूक्ष्मदन्तखण्डिकाङ्गुलीयकापूरिताङ्गुलिना * * * * *
* नखमयखदन्तुरतया गृहीतदन्तकोणेनेव दन्तमयीं दक्षिणकरेण वीणामास्फलयन्तीम् ।

Mahāśvetā is here presented as playing on the *vīṇā* with her fingers (or finger-nails), or, if we take the term गृहीतदन्तखण्डिकाङ्गुलीयक to mean a *mijrāb* or *nakhī* made of ivory and not merely an ordinary finger-ring made of ivory, worn as usual on the finger as a mere ornament, she was playing upon the *vīṇā* with such a *mijrāb*. But the *utprekṣā* in नखमयख गृहीतदन्तकोणेनेव would indicate that even though in this particular case *Mahāśvetā* was playing upon the *vīṇā* with her finger-nails or with an ivory *mijrāb*, it was possible to use a दन्तकोण (a bow made of ivory) for the same purpose, though, it must be remembered, the musical results would be different in each case, the difference being what we find between the actions of the *satār* and the *dilrubā*. How one and the same instrument could be so played upon alternatively is difficult to understand, though not quite inconceivable. Perhaps all that is intended is that the rays of the finger-nails on the *vīṇā* only gave the appearance of a bow playing on it, and a closer view would have shown that it was a *vīṇā* played upon and playable upon with the finger-nails only. All this may justify us in inferring that the term *vīṇā* was used in a wide sense, — including instruments like our *Karnataka bin* on the one hand which is always played upon with the fingers and on the other hand, instruments like the *dilrubā* and the *sāraṅgī* played upon always with a bow.

But further, Kṣīrasvāmī in his gloss on the *Amarakośa* has something new to say. Where Maheśvara, as we saw above, gives धनुराकृतिकाष्टं (i. e. a bow) as the meaning of कोण (*koṇa*), Kṣīrasvāmī says कोणोवादनकाष्टं ढक्कायुपयोगि, and ढक्का, according to *Amara*, is a synonym of पटह, a drum. This, a stick for beating a drum with, can have nothing to do with a *viṇā*. How can we explain this? However, Kṣīrasvāmī goes on and says : शततन्त्री रण्यतेऽनेन वाद्यते अत एव कोणो वादित्रवादनमित्याहुः । Thus he wishes to read वादित्र for वीणादि and extend the sense of कोण to another thing with which a शततन्त्री is played upon. What is this *śata-tantrī*? And what could be its *koṇa*? I would venture a conjecture: We know of a musical instrument called *sāra-maṇḍala*, correctly *svara-maṇḍala*, known to Mahomedan musicians as *kāmūn*. This instrument has numerous strings, over two dozens. It is played upon with a small bit of wood or the like pressed with one hand on each string. Could it be that there were some such instruments as *svara-maṇḍala* with a hundred strings? I leave the conjecture at that. Only if this was the case, the term *viṇā* would have to include such *śata-tantrīs* also.

To return to the bow and the finger-nail as means of playing upon the *viṇā*: Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* (XXIX-124) has

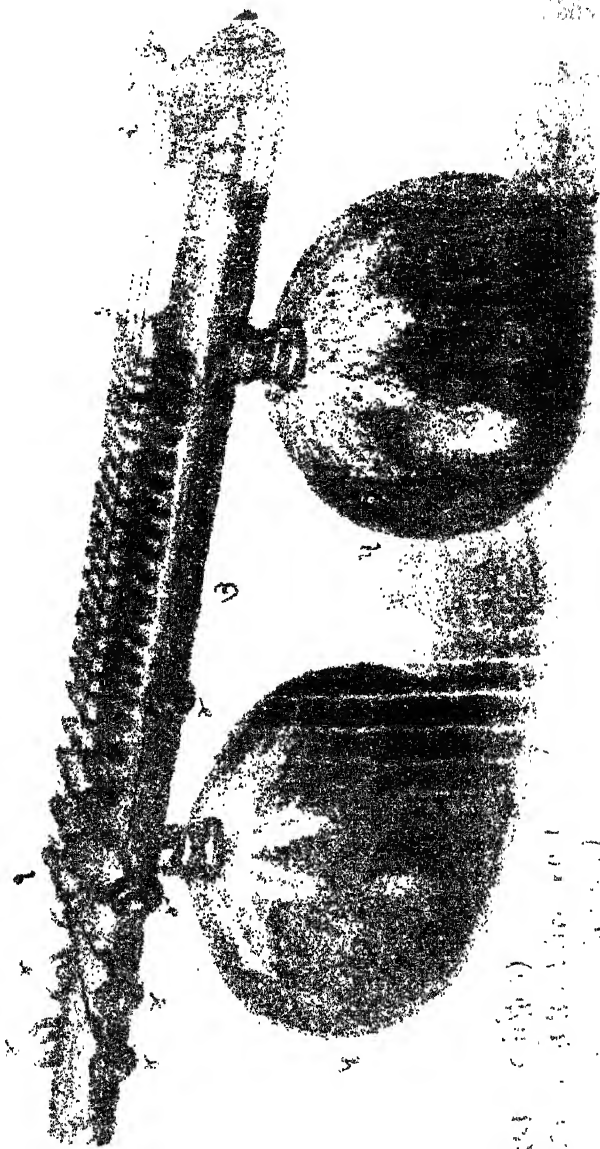
कोणवाद्या विपञ्ची स्याद् द्वित्राचाङ्गुलिवादानात् ।

which takes us to the same conclusion as above, viz. that *viṇā* meant instruments like our *bin* played upon with finger-nail on the one hand and instruments like the *sāraṅgi* and the like (or their predecessors) played upon with a bow on the other. Hemacandra in his *Triṣaṣṭi-śalākā-puruṣacarita* under *Mahāvīracarita* (XI, 406 to 410) has :

अरिष्टदर्शने ब्राह्म, . . . , अगलत् कम्बिका करात् ।

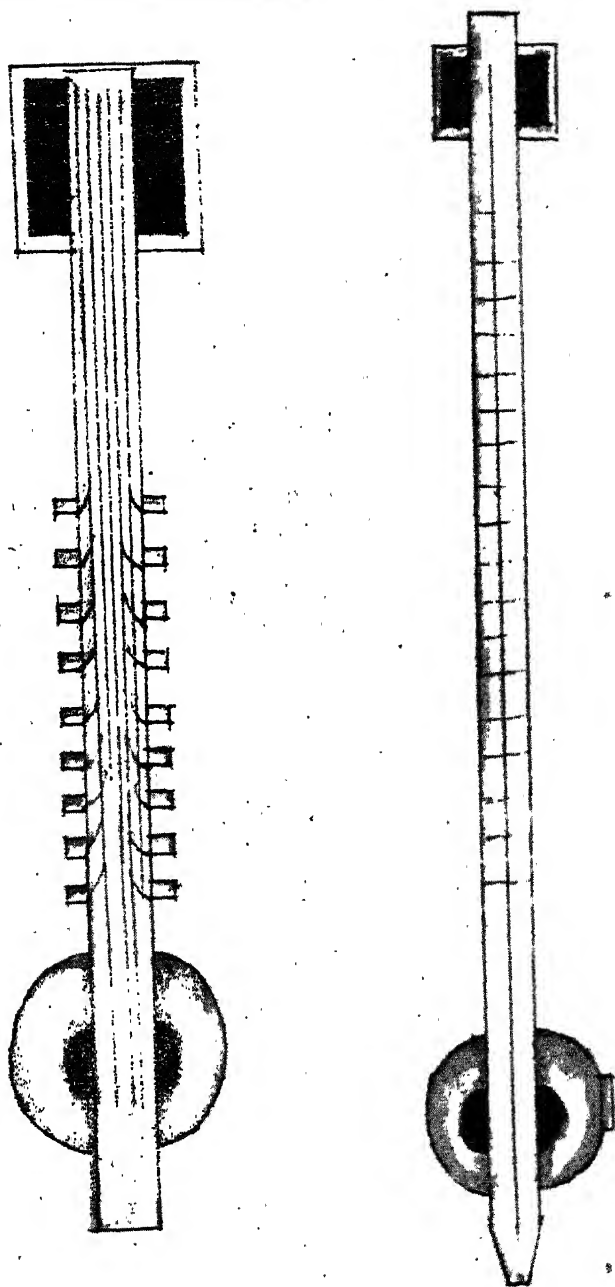
Now, *kambikā* is a new word. *Medinī Kośa* says कम्बिकं च वंशस्य and the *Haima Anekārtha Kośa* कम्बिर्वंशलतादयोः. This would point to a bamboo stick (*vaṁśa-latā*) as a means of playing upon a *viṇā* (i. e. that class of *viṇā* which is played upon with a bow), a stick like the one which with, of course, horse-hair or the like strung at both ends turning it into a bow is used at present by wandering minstrels known in Gujarat by the name of *Bhartharis*

Plate I
रुद्रवीणा.



१ नारद (संस्कृत)
२ कर्क (संस्कृत)
३ नारद (संस्कृत)
४ कर्क (संस्कृत)
५ नारद (संस्कृत)
६ कर्क (संस्कृत)

Plate II



because their common song deals with the story of King Bhartrhari. (Bhartharis are to Gujarat what the troubadours were to Europe during the middle ages).

There is one possible argument. The *bin* is played upon with both the hands, the right hand finger-nails (*mījrābed* or *un-mījrābed*) striking the strings at the bottom end, and the left hand finger pressing the string concerned on the several frets to produce the several notes. Thus, one may say, the finger-touch is for the frets and the bow-touch (instead of the finger-nail strokes) is for the bottom of the strings, and thus both the bow and the fingers, can work together. But the answer is that the touch on the frets is that of pressure by the finger-tips and not strokes with the finger-nails; this is true of the *dīlrubā* and *satūr* also. Only in the case of the *sūrangī* the finger-tip pressure is absent and the finger-nails work along the strings, touching lightly the *sides* of the strings. Thus *सखमुखवर्षण* or *उद्धेवन* indicates only the striking at the bottom. Be it noted that in the extract from *Kādambarī* given above *Mahāśvetā* is depicted as striking the *vīṇā* with the *right* hand, for the left hand plays on the frets and the right hand strikes the bottom of the strings as every one knows. The *utprekṣā* which likens the rays of the finger-nails to a *koṇa* also points to the bottom of the strings.

Vincent Smith, in his "*Early History of India*", gives some pictures of ancient coins. No. 10 of these is a coin of Samudragupta. It represents the king with a *vīṇā* on his knee with one gourd, and he is shown as playing upon it with his two hands; no bow is shown. This belongs to the fourth century A. D.

Again Rapson shows two coins of Samudragupta who is represented as seated cross-legged, playing upon a lyre or lute (*vīṇā*) which lies on his knees. (*Vide Catalogue of Indian Coins, Gupta Dynasties*, p. 18, Plate V, Coins 5 and 6). This lute is a peculiar boat-shaped instrument with no gourds and is not to be mistaken for the real *vīṇā* as typified by our *bin* of the *Karnataka Vīṇā* is a misnomer in the case of the representation in these coins, at least a term used in a loose way.

1 *Tūris* is another name for wandering minstrels in ancient Kathiavada. Could it (*tūri*) have been an abridged evolute of *bharthari*?

The Karnāṭaka, Dravidian as it is, has maintained the classical traditions of Āryan civilization in the science and art of music in much greater purity than the North Indian School of music has done. Hence the present day *bīn* of Karnataka is a truer representation of the ancient *viṇā* than the *satār* or *satār-like* instruments.

THE *VĪṆĀ* : ITS SHAPE CONSTITUTION

Now, an important question connected with the *viṇā* is its shape constitution. What was its body formation in ancient times? I leave aside the secondary instruments played upon with a bow. My eye is on the *viṇā*: played upon with the finger-nails. The *Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi* of Hemacandra gives the following enumeration of the constituent parts of a *viṇā* :

कायः कोलम्बकस्तस्याः उपनाहो निबन्धनम् ॥

दण्डः पुनः प्रवालः स्यात् ककुभस्तु प्रसेवकः ।

मूले वंशशलाका स्यात् कलिका कृणिकापि च ॥ II-204, 205

The names of the several parts of a *viṇā* given here have been explained differently by different persons, in some cases. Let us take them one by one :

1. कोलम्बकः is the name of the *body* of *viṇā* ; Hemacandra in his *vṛtti* explains it thus : केवलम्ब्यन्ते तन्व्योज्जेति कोलम्बकः । Now, what does this mean exactly? The place where the strings are suspended? Really the *viṇā* consists of the fret-board on the *daṇḍa* and the two gourds at each end, where is the body left after that? The body and the *daṇḍa* could hardly be separated from each other. We leave this in an undecided state thus.

2. उपनाहः

Hemacandra explains this thus :

येन चर्मणा उपनह्यते स उपनाहः । प्रान्ते यत्र तन्व्यो निबध्यन्ते वा ।

Keśirasvāmī on *Amara* has :

येन चर्मणा उपनह्यते उपनाहः यत्र तन्व्यो निबध्यन्ते च निबन्धनम् ॥

We are again confronted by two possible senses :

- (a) the leather which is fitted to some part of the *viṇā* which would indicate that the *viṇā* had its lower body thus treated, as in the case of the *sāraṅgī* and the like;
- (b) the part where the strings are tied.—This may be the bottom of the *daṇḍa* near the gourd or the pegs along the fret-board (प्रान्ते in Hemacandra would support this sense).

3. दण्डः This presents no difficulty. It is the main stem on which the frets are fastened;

4. ककुभः This again presents twofold meanings :

(a) Hemacandra explains as under :—

दण्डाधः शङ्खगाम्भीर्याथे दारुमयं खण्डं यद् भस्त्रया आच्छाद्यते । प्रीसाव्यते प्रमेवकः ॥

Kṣīrasvāmī on *Amara* (VI-7) has the same except that he has भाण्डं for खण्डं. This goes to indicate wooden globes (instead of gourds) with their tops covered by leather, for securing resonance. (The present day *bīn* has gourds or wooden representations of the gourds but no leather fitting) :

(b) Apte gives different meanings : viz. “a crooked piece of wood at the end of the lute”. He cites no authority. But a friend of mine who plays on the *bīn* as an expert tells me that it is (somewhere) described as तस्याः (i. e. वीणायाः) प्रान्ते वक्रकाष्ठं ककुभः which he believes is the bit of wood with holes through which the strings pass before they are finally secured at the bottom end of the stem continued by the sounding board. The vernacular name for it in Gujarat is घोड़ी (*ghoḍī*),

5. कलिका } Hemacandra in his *vṛtti* explains these terms
कृणिका } thus :

वीणाया मूले कलयति तन्त्रीं कलिका ॥ १ ॥ कृणयते तन्त्रीं कृणिका ॥ २ ॥

The sense of this depends on what is meant by वीणामूलम्. If it is the bottom end, *kalikā* and *kūṇikā* would stand for the *ghoḍī*, the rest through the holes whereof the wires pass. If we take *mūlam* to mean the upper end of the fret-board, the terms could be taken to mean the pegs to which the wires are fastened. This latter sense is more probable, for two reasons :

(1) तन्त्रीं कलयति would indicate the fastening of the wires, and कृण्यते (which, by the way, may be connected with क्वण = to sound) would indicate that by fastening the wires the true notes are produced ;

(2) The top end of the strings gives the lowest note in the scale and the notes rise as the finger presses downward till it reaches the lowest fret ; the top being thus the *mūlam*, the beginning, properly speaking.

Monier Williams and Apte support this meaning more or less. They have :— कृणिक— 1. The horn of any animal, 2. the peg of a lute ;

कलिका— 1. an unblown flower ;

2. The bottom or peg of the Indian lute.

[The "bottom" seems incongruous and must be rejected].

कृणिक may be the name given to the peg, on account of its fancied resemblance to a horn, and कलिक may be the name given to the peg on account of the top-knot of the peg resembling a bud.

There are some who think that *kakubha* is the *ghcḍī* (the rest-ship through which the wires are led at the bottom of the *vīṇā*) and *kalikā* is the last, lowest, of the frets. This is hardly correct. I shall indicate this view just below when I deal with the most important problem in connection with the ancient *vīṇā* viz. :

VĪNĀ AND ITS GOURDS

How many gourds had the ancient *vīṇā* ? To facilitate matters I present herewith a plate (marked I) showing the picture of the *Rudra-Vīṇā* prepared for me by Mr. Phulchand Shah of Nadiad, who knows something of the *vīṇā* being himself a player on it. I have just above indicated his errors about the *kakubha* and the *kalikā*. The position of the gourds, as shown in the sketch is that occupied by them in the present day *bīn* and I have shown reasons already why the *bīn* should be accepted as the ancient *vīṇā*. However, the *vīṇā*, its shape and gourds, have an interesting course of evolution. Even now there are certain *vīṇās* with one gourd only at the bottom, something in the same position as that

of a *tamburā* and another gourd at the top end much like the one in the sketch given here, though smaller in size. One of the earliest kind of *vīṇā* was like the one shown in sketch No. II given here. I have taken it from T. A. Gopinath Rao's work, "*Elements of Hindu Iconography*", Vol. I, part I. I quote below an informing description from page 9 thereof :—

"*Vīṇā*. It consists of a long hollow semi-cylindrical body handle with a number of keys on its sides. From each of these keys proceeds a string or wire which is stretched over the long body of the instrument and tied at the lower end. At this lower end is a square sounding box, and to the upper end a hollow gourd is attached to serve as a resonator. It is played with the left hand by passing the fingers lightly over the strings and pressing them down a little in required positions. The right hand plucks the various strings periodically to suit the requirements of the musician (see Pl. II figures 10 and 11)."

This crude early form must have gradually passed through various alterations, the square box having given place to a round gourd to correspond to the one at the top end, and the body being constructed so as to accommodate frets on a well-rounded hollow stem fitted with a plank-like piece. The final evolution was the present day *bīṇ* which must have an antiquity of its own. The description of a *vīṇā* given by Monier Williams in his Sanskrit-English Dictionary seems to have been based not on the modern *bīṇ* but on his idea of the classical instrument, at any rate he must have accepted the present day *bīṇ* as the prototype of the *vīṇā* of classical antiquity. This is his description : "*Vīṇā* has seven wires or strings, raised on seventeen frets fixed on a long rounded board towards the ends of which are two large gourds".

To come to the number of gourds in a *vīṇā* — an incidental light is thrown on this point by Hemacandra in his *Triṣaṣṭi-śālākā-puruṣa-carita*, X, vii, 9. This stanza occurs in a description of the cold (*śiśira*) season. It runs thus :

पाणिपद्मं स्वभावोष्णप्रियावक्षसिजान्निशि ।

सालाडुबीणादण्डाभं युवानो नापसारयत ॥

1 I wonder why Hemacandra has omitted the *alābu* (gourd) in his enumeration of the constituents of the *vīṇā* in his *Abhidhāna-cināṭmaṇi*,

The youthful lover's arms are here likened to the *daṇḍa* of a *viṇā* lying over the two gourds to which are likened the two breasts of the lady-love. It may be contended that the singular number in वक्षसिजात् would support the theory that the *viṇā* had only one gourd in ancient times. But we have to remember firstly, that the word पाणिपद्मं though strictly meaning *the hand*, must here be taken as indicating *the arm* as it is likened to a *viṇā-daṇḍa*, and thus the arm must be resting on both the breasts, and secondly, such a use of the singular for the plural (or dual) number is not unusual. Compare Kālidāsa's lines in the *Vikramorvaśīyā* :

तदेतदुन्मीलय चक्षुरायतं ।

निशावसाने नलिनीव पङ्कजम् ॥

Purūravas asks Urvaśī to open her eyes, when she was in a swoon and the singular number in चक्षुः really implies by way of *upalakṣaṇa* the dual number. In fact it is not physically possible to open one eye without simultaneously opening the other. Besides, there is no point in saying "open your (one) eye". Thus, to my mind, there are sufficient grounds to hold

- I. That the *viṇā* proper in ancient times was played upon by the finger-nails (of the right hand) ;
- II. Other instruments, loosely included in the *viṇā* were played upon with a bow ;
- III. That the perfected form of the *viṇā* must have had¹ two gourds attached below the stem.

1 The following *subhāṣita* may be shown against this view ;

रागोद्वेगः परं परं न जानानि सख्यवती ।

अद्यापि मज्जनभयात् तुम्हीं वहति वक्षसि ॥

This stanza is found in the first *Pravāha* of *Udbhaṭa-sāgara*. According to one account Udbhaṭa (or Bhaṭṭodbhaṭa) was one of the *paṇḍitas* honoured by king Jayāpīḍa (A. D. 779 to 813) of Kāśmīra, mentioned in *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa. Taking it as it stands there is nothing wrong in one gourd resting on Sarasvatī's bosom and the other over her shoulder and near her head.

POST-SCRIPT

(a) I may note incidentally that the *satūr* which is after all a simplified abridgement of the *bīn*, is distinguishable in its essential constitution from *bīn* (*viṇā*). I do not take into account the fact that the *satūr* has only one gourd, and that two differently formed and placed from that in the *bīn*. The essential difference consists in the fact that the permanent arrangement of the frets in a *bīn* does away with the necessity of shifting their position when a new *thāṭa* (थाट) or *mela* (मेल) is required, whereas in the *satūr* such shifting is necessary.

(b) The popular view of the *viṇā* is so confused and corrupted that we find in pictures of Sarasvatī a *satūr* or even a *tamburā* placed in her hands, which serves as the *viṇā* of classical worth. Again, I have heard several Deccani musicians call the *tamburā* a *viṇā* and that too in the masculine gender : माझा वीणा घेऊन येतो.

DHARMAKĪRTI AND BHĀMAHA

BY

DR. K. B. PATHAK, B. A., Ph. D.

In my previous three papers I have shown that the Buddhist author Śāntarakṣita belongs to the ninth century because he quotes a well-known verse from the Tattvārthaśloka-vārtika of Vidyānanda-Pātrakesarisvāmi :

अन्यथानुपपन्नत्वं यत्र तत्र त्रयेण किम् ।

नान्यथानुपपन्नत्वं यत्र तत्र त्रयेण किम् ॥

This verse has been known to me for more than fifty years. The suggestion made by some scholars that this verse was borrowed by Pātrakesari from some earlier authority must be dismissed without ceremony. It is indeed true that the Buddhist author Śāntarakṣita mentions the author of the Tattvārthālamkāra by the shorter name Pātrasvāmi instead of Pātrakesarisvāmi, in the same way as the definition प्रत्यक्षं कल्पना-पोदमभ्रान्तम् in the Nyāyabindu is attributed to Kīrti in one place and to Dharmakīrti in another place in the Patraparīkṣā by this distinguished Jaina Logician. It is thus evident that the use of the shorter name Pātrasvāmi does not affect our conclusion that Śāntarakṣita belongs to the ninth century.

I have also proved that Śāntarakṣita was acquainted with the सर्वज्ञवाद in the Aṣṭasahasri of Pātrakesari in which Kumārila is represented as attacking the views of Samantabhadra, Akalaṅka-deva and Māṇikyanandi. I now proceed to show that these three Jaina authors attack the त्रिलक्षणहेतु or त्रिरूपहेतु of Dharmakīrti.

Samantabhadra says :

सधर्मेणैव साध्यस्य साधर्म्याद्विरोधतः ।

स्याद्वादप्रविभक्तार्थविशेषव्यञ्जको नयः ॥ १०६ ॥

Āptamīmāṃsā.

Akalaṅkadeva explains :

सषक्षेणैव साध्यस्य साधर्म्यादित्यनेन हेतोर्लक्षणस्यमविरोधात् इत्यन्यथानुपपत्तिं च दर्शयता केवलस्य त्रिलक्षणस्यासाधनत्वमुक्तं तत्पुत्रत्वादिवत् ।त्रिलक्षणयोगेपि प्रधानमेकलक्षणं हेतुत्रैव साधनसामर्थ्यपरिनिष्ठिते ।

Vasunandi says :

... .. अविरोधादित्यनेनान्यथानुपपत्त्येकलक्षणो हेतुः प्रदर्शितः । किमुक्तं भवति— अन्तर्व्याप्तिमन्तरेण त्रिलक्षणो हेतुर्न गमक इति ।

Both Samantabhadra and Akalaṅkadeva lay great stress on अन्यथानुपपत्ति the invariable concomitance of हेतु with साध्य. The next great Jaina author, who insists upon this one principle as against the त्रिलक्षण of Dharmakīrti, is Māṇikyanandi, whose Parīkṣāmukha is commented upon by Prabhācandra and Anantavīrya. Prabhācandra was a contemporary of Māṇikyanandi himself as we are told

शास्त्रं करोमि वरमल्पतरावबोधो
माणिक्यनन्दिपदपङ्कजसत्प्रसादात् ।
अर्थे न किं स्फुटयति प्रकृतं लघीयै—
लोकस्य भानुकरविस्फुरिताद्वाक्षः ॥ २ ॥

Prameyakamalamārtāṇḍa, Chap. I.

Anantavīrya, who also composed a commentary upon the Nyāya-viniścaya of Akalaṅkadeva, is thus referred to by Vādirāja, who wrote in Śāka 947 and was a contemporary of the Cālukya Emperor Jayasimha II :

गूढमर्थमकलङ्कवाङ्मयागाधभूमिनिहितं तदर्थिनां ।
व्यञ्जयत्यलमनन्तवाक् [यथा] दीपवर्तिरनिशं पदे पदे ॥ २ ॥

Nyāyaviniścaya-vyākhyāna-ratnamālā.

Anantavīrya is also mentioned in the concluding Praśasti of the Mallisenamahāpurāṇa written in Śāka 969. Nor should we omit to notice the interesting fact that in a Kannada inscription dated Śāka 999 we are told that Anantavīrya wrote a commentary on Akalaṅka-sūtra Akalaṅka-sūtrakke-ṛttiyaṃ bared Anantavīrya-bhāṭṭarakar (Nagar Inscription, No. 35. Epigraphia Carnatika, Vol. VIII, p. 255).

From the references given above it is obvious that Anantavīrya belongs to the close of the tenth century A. D.

Both Prabhācandra and Anantavīrya say that the त्रिरूपहेतु as described in the following verse :

हेतोस्त्रिष्वपि रूपेषु निर्णयस्तेन वर्णितः ।
असिद्धविपरीतार्थव्यभिचारिविपक्षतः ॥

is attacked by Mānikyanandi in the following sūtra :—

साध्याविनाभावित्वेन निश्चितो हेतुः

Parīkṣāmukha III. 15.

We have thus seen that Samantabhadra, Akalaṅkadeva and Mānikyanandi have attacked the त्रिरूपहेतु. Later than the three Jaina authors are Kumārila and Sureśvara. Kumārila criticises Dharmakīrti as we learn from Kamalaśīla :—

यथोक्तम् “प्रत्यक्षोपलम्भस्य नार्थद्वष्टिः प्रसिध्यती” त्याशङ्क्याह यथा चेत्यादि ।
यथा चाविदितैरेव चक्षुरादिभिरिन्द्रियैः ।
गृह्यन्ते विषयाः सर्वे प्रमाणैरापि ते तथा ॥ २९११ ॥
तेनात्र ज्ञायमानत्वं प्रामाण्ये नोपयुज्यते ।
विषयानुभवोऽप्यस्मादज्ञातादेव लभ्यते ॥ २९१२ ॥

Tattvasaṁgraha, Vol. II, p. 768.

Kumārila, Śloka-vārtika, verse 71.

Sarvadarśanasamgraha, chap. on Buddhism.

Kumārila also attacks the त्रिरूपहेतु in the following passages :

न चापि वासनामात्राल्लिङ्गज्ञानस्य संभवः ।
लिङ्गिज्ञानं च तद्वत्स्यात् त्रिरूपाल्लिङ्गतो न तत् ॥ २६७ ॥

Mīmāṃsāsloka-vārtika, Benares ed., p. 400

त्रिलक्षणेन या बुद्धिर्जन्यते साऽनुमेष्यते ।
न चाऽनुत्पन्निरूपस्य कारणापेक्षिता क्वचित् ॥ ४४ ॥

Idem, p. 488.

Kumārila says :

चित्राभिश्चित्रहेतुत्वाद्वासनाभिरुपप्लवात् ।
स्वानुरूप्येण नीलादि ग्राह्यग्राहकदूषितम् ॥ १६ ॥
प्रविभक्तमिषोत्पन्नं नान्यमर्थमपेक्षते ।

Pārthasārathi tells us that in the above lines Kumārila reproduces the substance of Dharmakīrti's following verse :

अविभागोऽपि बुद्ध्यात्मा विपर्यासितदर्शने ।
ग्राह्यग्राहकसंवित्तिभेदवानिव लक्ष्यते इति ॥

Mīmāṃsāsloka-vārtika, p. 272.

Dharmakīrti holds that ज्ञान is स्वयंप्रकाशक.

नान्योऽनुभावो बुद्ध्याऽस्ति तस्या नाऽनुभवोऽप्यः ।
ग्राह्यग्राहकवैधुर्यात् स्वयं सैव प्रकाशते ॥ इति ।

Kumārila alludes to this opinion thus :

इतश्चाऽऽकारवज्ज्ञानं यस्मात्तद्वत्प्रकाशकम् ।
स्वयं प्रकाशहीनस्य बाह्यस्योपासनं मतम् ॥ २१ ॥

Mimāṃsāslokavārtika, p. 275.

It is thus evident that Kumārila who is acquainted with the opinions of Dharmakīrti attacks the त्रिरूपहेतु. Sureśvara, who is later than Kumārila, speaks of Dharmakīrti as the exponent of the त्रिरूपहेतु thus :

अथान्यापोहवद्वस्तु गम्यं गमकमेव च ॥
वक्तव्यं तत्र किं मानमदृष्टौ न त्रिरूपता ॥ ७७९ ॥

Ānandajñāna explains :

अपोहवद्वस्तुनो गमकत्वे तस्मिन्किं मानमिति पृष्टे त्वया वाच्यं मानेन गमकस्यादृष्टौ तस्य पक्षधर्मत्वं सपक्षे सत्त्वं विपक्षाद्व्यावृत्तिरिति त्रिरूपतासिद्धिरनुमानं हि त्रिरूपाद्विज्ञा-
तोऽर्थज्ञानार्थमिति स्थितं न हि धर्मिण्यप्रामेते धर्मप्रामितिः । तथा च हेतोस्त्रिरूप-
रूपेषु निश्चयस्तेन वर्णितः । असिद्धविपरीतार्थव्यभिचारिविपक्षतः ॥ इत्युपेक्षितमिति
भावः ॥ ७७९ ॥

The verse quoted by Ānandajñāna to elucidate Sureśvara's attack on Dharmakīrti must be by Dharmakīrti himself. This is the verse which Mānikyanandi had in view when composing Sūtra III, 15 with the reading निर्णय for निश्चय. The Tīpanikāra on the Prameya Kamalamārtanḍa says that the word तेन in this verse means दिग्भागेन. It is plain, therefore, that this is a verse of Dharmakīrti.

In this verse it is admitted by Dharmakīrti himself that he owes his knowledge of the त्रिरूपहेतु to his distinguished predecessor Dignāgācārya. In spite of this admission it is not Dignāga but Dharmakīrti, who is severely attacked by Sureśvara on account of the त्रिरूपहेतु. Sureśvara's critic Pātrakesari follows the same course in assailing the author of the Nyāyabindu, in the Tattvārthaslokavārtika, as I have proved in my previous paper. If Sureśvara had not mentioned the name of Dharmakīrti, the long and interesting passage in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka-

vārtika, which I have presented to Sanskrit scholars, would have entirely lost its importance as a contribution to literary history. This is entirely due to the fact that after A. D. 650, Dharmakīrti came to be recognized as the most illustrious exponent of the त्रिलक्षणहेतु. Though Samantabhadra and Akalaṅkadeva refute this doctrine and maintain only one principle अन्यथानुपपन्नत्व, it is the more elaborate and systematic refutation of the त्रिलक्षण by Pātra-kesarisvāmi, which has aroused the resentment of Śāntaraksita, who defends the Buddhistic doctrine from the attacks of the author of the Tattvārthaśloka-vārtika.

In the Nyāyadīpikā we read इत्थमन्यथानुपपत्त्येकलक्षणो हेतुरनुमिति-प्रयोजकः इति प्रथितेऽप्यार्हतमते तदेतदवितर्क्यान्येऽन्यथाप्याहुः । तत्र तावन्ताथागताः “पक्षधर्मत्वादित्रितयलक्षणाद्विज्ञानदनुमानोत्थानम्” इति वर्णयन्ति । तथा हि । “पक्ष-धर्मत्वं सपक्षे सत्त्वं विपक्षाद्व्यावृत्तिरिति हेतोर्ग्राहिणि रूपाणि । तानीमानि त्रीणि रूपाणि मिलितानि हेतोर्लक्षणम् । अन्यतमाभावे हेतोराभासत्वं स्यात् ।” इति तदसङ्गतम् । कृत्तिकोदयादेर्हेतोर्पक्षधर्मस्य शकटोदयादि साध्यगमकत्व-दर्शनात् । तस्माद्वैद्धाभिमतं हेतोर्लक्षणमव्याप्तम् । तदुक्तम् “अन्यथानुपपन्नत्वं यत्र तत्र त्रयेण किम् । नान्यथानुपपन्नत्वं यत्र तत्र त्रयेण किम् ॥१॥” इति बौद्धान्प्रति ॥

The author of the Nyāyadīpikā is Abhinava Dharmabhūṣaṇa who wrote in Śāka 1307.¹

I have thus traced the history of the त्रिलक्षणहेतु from the latter half of the seventh century to the end of the fourteenth century.

Let us now turn to what Dr. Randle says on this subject “Any suggestion that the three ‘canons of syllogism’ are taken from Buddhist logic is discounted by the fact that Praśastapāda himself cites a couplet which states the doctrine, and which attributes it to ‘Kāśyapa’, i. e. to the Vaiśeṣika school. The effrontery of such a claim, if the doctrine had really originated recently in the Buddha schools, would be incredible. Moreover, the doctrine is already implicitly present in Vātsyāyana’s Bhāṣya on NS. V, i, 34, and even in that sūtra itself.”

These remarks are most ingenious and show the erudition of Dr. Randle. But after a careful perusal of them, I am still dis-

1 South Indian Inscriptions. Vol. I, p. 156, Vijayanagara inscription of Harihara II, dated Śāka 1307; concluding praśasti of a Ms. of the D. C. Collections.

posed to accept the safer guidance of Sureśvarācārya and his great critic Pātrakesari in reading the Indian literary history of the eighth century. Nor shall I be deterred from assigning to this period the rhetorician Bhāmaha who says :

सन् पक्षे सदृशे सिद्धौ व्यावृत्तस्तद्विपक्षतः ।

हेतुखिलक्षणे ज्ञेयो हेत्वाभासो विपर्ययात् V, 21.

हेतुखिलक्षमैव मतः काव्येष्वपि न मेघेनाम् V, 47.

त्रिरूपाल्लिङ्गतो ज्ञानमनुमानं च केचन ।

तद्विदो नान्तरीयार्थदर्शनं चाऽपरं विदुः ॥

Kāvya-lamkāra, Kashi Sanskrit Series. V, 11.

In the Introduction to this edition p. 41, verse V, 11 is quoted with the reading चापरं changed into चापरे, but no explanation is given of this change. But the reading अपरे, for which there is no manuscript evidence, may be justified by the supposition that Bhāmaha has taken Dignāga's definition from Uddyotakara's work N. V. p. 56, I, 14 where the words अपरे तु ब्रुवते precede the definition, by changing अपरे ब्रुवते into अपरे विदुः. This is the first unwarrantable change of the text made by the editors. A similar change of the text appears on p. 48, where we read,

“But उद्योतकर, while discussing दिङ्नाग's definition, says “अथ केयं कल्पना ? नामजात्यादि योजनन्ति । यत् न नाम्नाभिधीयते न च जात्यादिभिर्व्यपदिश्यते ।”

“वाचस्पतिमिश्र calls it लक्षणवादिनामुत्तरम्, now the लक्षणवादीs must be दिङ्नाग and all those, who had a similar view. We may presume that भामह was also one of them — at least conversant with that view — for he says कल्पनां नामजात्यादि योजनां प्रतिजानन्त—काव्या V. 6”

A reference is made to तात्पर्यटीका, p. 102. On referring to this page, we read

संप्रति दिङ्नागस्य लक्षणमुपन्यस्यति अपर इति दूषयितुं कल्पनास्वरूपं पृच्छति । अथ केयमिति । लक्षणवादिन उत्तरं नामेति ।

The word लक्षणवादिनः is genitive singular. This is turned into plural लक्षणवादिनाम् by the editors to support their contention that भामह was one of the लक्षणवादिनः.

Let us now turn to Dr. Randle who refers to the same passage in the तात्पर्यटीका, p. 102. He says "Vācaspati Mīśra says that the words nāmajāti-yojanā &c. in the passage just cited give the answer, of the person who states the definition, to Uddyotakara's question : What is this kalpanā ? (N. V. T., p. 102, l. 2, Lakṣaṇa-vādina uttaram). The Lakṣaṇa-vādin seems to mean Dinnāga, though it might mean any person who supports the definition."

I shall now give the whole verse of Dignāgācārya as quoted and explained by Akalaṅkadeva :

प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोदं नामजात्यादि योजना ।
असाधारणहेतुत्वादक्षैस्तद्व्यपदिश्यते ॥

यदुक्तं कल्पनापोदं प्रत्यक्षमिति । कल्पनाहि जातिद्वययुगक्रियापरिभाषाकृतो वाग्-
बुद्धि विकल्पस्ततोऽपोदं ।

Tattvārtharājavārtika, Vol. I, p. 38.

In the commentary on the Tattvasaṃgraha, Vol. I, p. 367 Kamalaśīla remarks :

यदि तर्हि जात्यादि योजना कल्पना न युक्तैव तत्कथं लक्षणकारेणोक्तं नामजात्यादि-
योजना कल्पनेति.¹

On page 373 Kamalaśīla again says :

यत्रैषा कल्पना नास्ति तत्प्रत्यक्षमित्यनेन ग्रन्थेन लक्षणकारस्तादात्म्यप्रतिषेधं करोति ।
एवं भूतं कल्पनात्मकं यज्ज्ञानं न भवतीत्यर्थः ।

It is very plain from the authorities quoted above that लक्षण-
वादिन or लक्षणकार is Dignāga himself. His work is called न्यायमुखग्रन्थ.

एवं न्यायमुखग्रन्थो व्याख्यातव्यो दिशा ज्ञया ।

ज्ञानमित्याभिसंबन्धात्प्रतीतिस्तत्र चोदिता ॥ १२३६ ॥

तत्रायं न्यायमुखग्रन्थः— यत् ज्ञानमर्थरूपादौ विशेषणामिधायकाभेदोपचारेणावि-
कल्पकं तदक्षमक्षं प्रति वर्तत इति प्रत्यक्षम् " विशेषणं जात्यादि, अभिधायकं नाम, तयोर-
भेदोपचारो जात्यादिमाद्भिः संज्ञिना च । अभेदोपचारग्रहणमुपलक्षणम् यत्रापि भेदेन
ग्रहणमस्य गोत्वमस्य नामेति, तत्रापि कल्पनेष्यत एव ।

Tattvasaṃgraha, Vol. I, pp. 372-73.

¹ नामजात्यादयः सर्वे योज्यन्ते वा ज्ञयात सा ।

तथोक्ता कल्पना प्रोक्ता प्रतीतिरभिलाषिणी ॥ १२२३ ॥

Tattvasaṃgraha, Vol. I, p. 369.

From a work entitled "Pre-Dignāga Buddhist texts on logic from Chinese sources" recently published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, we learn that Dignāga's work called न्यायसूत्र was translated into Chinese, and that this Chinese translation was retranslated into some European language by Dr. Giusapp. Tucci in 1929. Vide List of Abbreviations, p. vi.

From the facts set forth above it is certain that Dignāga wrote the following verse :

प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोढं नामजात्यादि योजना ।
असाधारणहेतुत्वादक्षैस्तद्व्यपदिश्यते ॥

The 2nd line of this couplet is ascribed to भदन्त in the Nyāya-praveśavṛtti, p. 35. भदन्त is thus Dignāga himself.

Uddyotakara had this whole verse of Dignāga before him as he explains it thus :

अथ केयं कल्पना ? the reply is contained in this couplet itself नामजातियोजनेति । यत् किल न नाम्नाभिधीयते न च जात्यादिभिर्व्यपदिश्यते ।

It is thus plain that प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोढम् means प्रत्यक्षं नामजात्याद्यपोढं or नामजात्यादिरहितं which means, according to Uddyotakara यत् किल न नाम्नाभिधीयते न च जात्यादिभिर्व्यपदिश्यते. If Vācaspatimiśra had used the words दिग्नागस्योत्तरं नामेति instead of लक्षणवादिन उत्तरं नामेति, it might have prevented the misunderstanding of the meaning intended by Uddyotakara and Vācaspatimiśra. This discussion will enable us to understand Bhāmaha's verse :

प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोढं ततोऽर्थादिति केचन ।
कल्पनां नामजात्यादि योजनां प्रतिजानते ॥ V. 6.

Here also we may ask केयं कल्पना ? the reply is given by the author himself who says :

"They (the Buddhists) declare कल्पना to be नामजात्यादि योजना."

After giving this explanation Bhāmaha attacks very severely Dignāga, who was a follower of the विज्ञानवादि school. With the teachings of this school the definition is irreconcilable. Bhāmaha says :

प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोढं ततोऽर्थादिति केचन ।
कल्पनां नामजात्यादियोजनां प्रतिजानते ॥ ६ ॥

समारोपः किलैतावान् सदर्थालम्बनं च तत् ।
 जात्याद्यपोहे वृत्तिः क्व क्व विशेषः कुतश्च सः ॥ ७ ॥
 तदपोहेषु च तथा सिद्धा सा व(बु)द्धिगोचरा ।
 अवस्तुकं चाद्वितथं प्रत्यक्षं तत्त्ववृत्ति हि ॥ ८ ॥
 ग्राह्यग्राहकभेदेन विज्ञानांशो मतो यदि ।
 विज्ञानमत्र सादृश्याद्विशेषोऽस्य विकल्पना ॥ ९ ॥

समारोप [of रजत upon शुक्तिका] is of this kind ; it rests upon real things. If जात्यादि is removed, where can समारोपवृत्ति be found, i. e. where can समारोप find a resting place ? Where can विशेष reside and whence can it proceed ? If after the removal of these things the presence of समारोप is insisted upon, it will only be व(बु)द्धिगोचरा, i. e. it will rest upon mere ideas. If so, प्रत्यक्ष will then become अवस्तुक (unsubstantial) and therefore वितथ (false) for प्रत्यक्ष consists only in realities.

If ग्राह्य (the pot perceived) and ग्राहक that which perceives or perception are both considered part of knowledge (ज्ञानमात्र), perception being like the pot perceived, the likeness between the two constitutes the विकल्प of perception (प्रत्यक्ष). Thus Dignāga's निर्विकल्प प्रत्यक्ष is untenable.

Bhāmaha proceeds " Nor can we accept Vasubandhu's definition, as it is also based on the विज्ञानवाद.

अर्थादेवेति रूपादेस्तत एवेति नान्यतः ।
 अन्यथा घटविज्ञानमन्येन व्यपदिश्यते ॥ 5. 10.

" From that very thing " means from the colour of that thing as घट, as a substance being non-existent, is the same as घटरूप, otherwise घटविज्ञान (perception of a pot) is designated from something other than घट.

The interpretation of Bhāmaha's verses given above is based upon Dignāga's own words :

सर्वोयमनुमानानुमेयव्यवहारो बुद्ध्यारूढेनैव धर्मधर्मिभावेन न बहिः सत्त्वमपेक्षते ।

Kumārila also says in attacking Dignāga :

नन्वसत्यपि बाह्येर्धे बुद्ध्यारूढेन सिध्यति । वासना शब्दभेदोत्थविकल्पप्रविभागतः ॥

Ślokavārtika.

That Vasubandhu, Dignāga and Dharmakīrti belonged to the विज्ञानवादि school has been proved in my paper on Dharmakīrti and

Śaṅkarācārya. The objection started by Bhāmaha against the definition of प्रत्यक्ष given by Dignāga can be urged with equal force against Dharmakīrti's definition as both definitions contain the expression कल्पनापोढं attacked above.

1 प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोढं 2 प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोढमभ्रान्तम्

This fact satisfactorily explains why Bhāmaha has omitted the second definition. Had he accepted the latter definition, he would have laid himself open to the charge of inconsistency.

The editors of Bhāmaha's काव्यालंकार published in the Kashi Sanskrit Series, appear to have entirely misunderstood the verses in which Dignāga is attacked. Bhāmaha could not have been a follower of Dignāga whom he has attacked. Nor do the editors seem to know the reason why Dharmakīrti has added the word अभ्रान्तं. Vācaspatimiśra says :

न हि यथा सम्यग्ज्ञानमधिकृत्य प्रत्यक्षादि लक्षणं कृतं कीर्तिना तथा दिग्भागेन, येनाधिकाराज्ज्ञाने व्यवतिष्ठेत कल्पनापोढमिति भावः ।

Here Vācaspati refers to the opening passage of the Nyāya-bindu where we read :

सम्यग्ज्ञानपूर्विका सर्वपुरुषार्थसिद्धिरिति तद् वृत्तपाद्यते । द्विविधं सम्यग्ज्ञानं प्रत्यक्ष-
मनुमानं च । तत्र प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोढमभ्रान्तम् ।

In this passage Dharmakīrti uses the word सम्यग्ज्ञानं before his definition so that we can easily understand

प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोढं सम्यग्ज्ञानम्

“perception means right apprehension stripped of the fictions of the understanding.” On the other hand Dignāga does not use सम्यग्ज्ञान or any other similar expression immediately before his definition. On this ground Uddyotakara considers Dignāga's definition defective because then

सर्वे अर्थाः तर्हि प्रत्यक्षाः प्राप्नुवन्ति.

We must not be misled by Uddyotakara's interpretation and criticism of Dignāga's view, as they are not admitted by the Buddhists. Śāntaraksita says :

कल्पनाप्रतिषेधाच्च ज्ञानस्य सामर्थ्यलब्धत्वात् अवत्सा धेनुरानीयतामिति यथा
प्रतिषेधेन गोधेनोः, इत्यतो ज्ञानमिति नोक्तम् ।

Tattvasaṃgraha Vol. I, p. 367.

In this passage Kamalaśīla assures us that Uddyotakara's interpretation and criticism of Dignāga's definition are not acceptable to the Buddhists. And in the opinion of Śāntarakṣita "the addition of the word अभ्रान्त by Dharmakīrti is not intended to supersede his distinguished predecessor's definition. Kamalaśīla says:

पीतशङ्खादि बुद्धीनां विभ्रमेपि प्रमाणताम् ।
अर्थक्रियाऽविसंवादादपरे संप्रचक्षरे ॥ १३२४ ॥

केचिन्तु स्वयथ्या एवाभ्रान्तग्रहणं नेच्छन्ति । भ्रान्तस्यापि पीतशङ्खादि ज्ञानस्य प्रत्यक्षत्वात् । तथाहि न तदनुमानमलिङ्गजत्वात् । प्रमाणं चाविसंवादिन्वात् । अत एवाचार्यदिङ्नागेन लक्षणे न कृतमभ्रान्तग्रहणम् ।

Tattvasaṃgraha, Vol. I, p. 324.

Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla assure us that both definitions are correct from different points of view and are acceptable to the Buddhists.

Let me proceed to answer the question whether Bhāmaha was a Buddhist, Jaina or Brāhmaṇa.

I have proved above that Bhāmaha attacks the विज्ञानवाद. It is well-known that he has also attacked the अन्यापोहवाद and his three verses treating of this subject are discovered in the Buddhist work Tattvasaṃgraha and the Jaina work Prameyakamalamārtaṇḍa. Śāntarakṣita devotes a whole chapter entitled शब्दार्थ-परीक्षा XVI to the discussion of this interesting subject. He enlarges on the nature of this doctrine, verses 867-909, pp. 274-290. He next notices the criticism passed on this doctrine by Bhāmaha, Kumārila, Uddyotakara and by Kumārila again. Bhāmaha's criticism, consisting of 3 verses only, occurs on p. 291 Tattvasaṃgraha. Kumārila's criticism begins on p. 292 verse 915, and ends on p. 313 where Kamalaśīla says :

एतत्सर्वं कुमारिलोक्तमुपन्यस्तम्, सांप्रतं सर्वशब्दस्येत्यादिनोद्योतकरोक्तमपोहदूषण-
माशङ्कते ।

verse 982, p. 313. And on page 316, verse 1000, he remarks एतत्सर्व-मुद्योतकरेणोक्तमुपन्यस्तम्. Then a passage of Dignāga is cited, which calls forth two more verses of Kumārila.

On this page 316 the पूर्वपक्ष being finished, Śāntarakṣita's reply begins. Kamalaśīla introduces it thus :

एवं यथाप्रधानं परमतमाशङ्क्य, अन्यापोहापरिज्ञानादिना समाधानमारभते ।

अन्यापोहापरिज्ञानादेवमेते कुट्टष्टयः ।

स्वयं तुष्टा दुरात्मानो नाशयन्ति परानपि ॥ १००३ ॥

तथाहि द्विविधोऽपोहः पर्युदासनिषेधतः ।

द्विविधः पर्युदासोऽपि बुद्ध्यात्मा अर्थात्माभेदतः ॥ १००४ ॥

Owing to their ignorance of अन्यापोह these wicked-minded, heretics, being self-satisfied, ruin other people.

अपोह is divided into two kinds by पर्युदास and प्रसज्यप्रतिषेध. पर्युदास is also divided as बुद्ध्यात्मा and अर्थात्मा.

The three wicked-minded heretics are Bhāmaha, Kumārila and Uddyotakara. Śāntarakṣita has no regard for chronological order as he deals with Bhāmaha's criticism first. It consists only of three verses, the text of which, as given by Prabhācandra is as follows :—

यदि गौरित्ययं शब्दः समर्थोन्यनिवर्त्तने ।

जनको गवि गोबुद्धि(द्धे)र्गृह्यतामपरो ध्वनिः ॥

ननु ज्ञानफलाः शब्दा न चैकस्य फलद्वयम् ।

अपवादविधिज्ञानं फलमेकस्य वः कथम् ॥

प्रागगौरिति विज्ञानं गोशब्दभ्राविणो भवेत् ।

येनाऽगोः प्रतिषेधाय प्रवृत्तो गौरिति ध्वनिः ॥

These are the three verses of the first wicked-minded heretic दुरात्माकुट्टाष्टि Bhāmaha. After some preliminary explanation Śāntarakṣita proceeds :

एवमपोहस्य स्वरूपमभिधाय सांप्रतं परोक्तानि दूषणान्युद्धर्तुमारभते । तत्र यदुक्तं “यदि गौरिति शब्दश्चे”त्यादि, तत्राह—तस्य चेत्यादि ।

तस्य च प्रतिविम्बस्य गतावेवानुगम्यते ।

सामर्थ्यादन्यविश्लेषो नास्यान्यात्मता यतः ॥ १०११ ॥

गोबुद्धिमेव हि शब्दो जनयति, अन्यविश्लेषस्तु सामर्थ्यादुपपद्यते, न तु शब्दात्, तस्य गोप्रतिविम्बस्य प्रतिभासान्तरात्मरहितत्वात्, अन्यथा नियतरूपस्य तस्य प्रतिपत्तिरेव न स्यात् । तेनापरो ध्वनिर्गोबुद्धेर्जनको न सृज्यते । तेनैव गोशब्देन गोबुद्धेर्जन्यमानत्वात्

॥ १०१९ ॥

ननु ज्ञानफलाः शब्दा इत्यादावाह—दिवाभोजनेत्यादि ।

दिवाभोजनवाक्यादेरिवास्यापि फलद्वयम् ।

साक्षात्सामर्थ्यतो यस्मान्नान्वयोऽप्यतिरेकवान् ॥ १०२० ॥

यथा हि दिवा न भुङ्क्ते पीनो देवदत्त इत्यस्य वाक्यस्य साक्षाद्विवाभोजनप्रतिषेधः स्वार्थाभिधानं, गम्यस्तु रात्रिभोजनविधिः, न साक्षात्, तद्वद्वैरित्यादेरन्वयप्रतिपादकस्य शब्दस्यान्वयज्ञानं साक्षात्फलम्, व्यतिरेकगतिस्तु सामर्थ्यात् । अत्र कारणमाह—यस्मादित्यादि । यस्मादन्वयो विधेरव्यतिरेकवान्नास्ति । किं तर्हि ? विजातीयव्यवच्छेदाव्यभिचार्येव । न हि विजातीयादव्यावृत्तस्य कस्याचित्संभवोऽस्ति । तेनैकस्य शब्दस्य फलद्वयमविरुद्धमेव ॥ १०२० ॥

कस्मादित्याह—नाभिमुख्येनेत्यादि ।

नाभिमुख्येन कुरुते यस्माच्छब्द इदं द्वयम् ।

स्वार्थाभिधानमन्यस्य विनिवृत्तिं च वस्तुनः ॥ १०२१ ॥

यदि साक्षादेकस्य शब्दस्य विधिनिषेधज्ञानलक्षणं फलद्वयं युगपदाभिप्रेतं भवेत्तदा स्याद्विरोधः । यदि तु दिवाभोजनवाक्यवदेकं साक्षात् अपरं सामर्थ्यलभ्यं फलमितीष्टं, तदा न विरोधः । यच्चोक्तं “प्रागगौरिति विज्ञानमि”त्यादि । तदपि निरस्तम् । अनभ्युपगमात् । न ह्यगोप्रतिषेधमाभिमुख्येन गोशब्दः करोतीत्यभ्युपगतमस्माभिः किं तर्हि ? सामर्थ्यादिति प्रतिपादितम् ॥ १०२१ ॥

Tattvasaṃgraha, Vol. I, pp. 320 &c.

One of the three wicked minded heretics (दुरात्मानः कुट्टयः) whose criticisms are refuted is Bhāmaha. By कुट्टयि is meant a heretic or heretical, cf.

एतदीया ग्रन्था एव च मन्वादिभिः परिहार्यत्वेनोक्ताः

या वेद बाह्याः स्मृतयो याश्च काश्चिद्विद्वद्वयः ।

सर्वास्ता निष्फलाः प्रेत्य तमोनिष्ठा हि ताः स्मृताः ॥

तस्माद्धर्मं प्रति त्रयीबाह्यमेवंजातीयकं प्रामाण्येनानपेक्ष्यं स्यादिति सिद्धम् ।

Tantravārtika, Benaras ed., p. 117.

Sāntarakṣita applies the term कुट्टयः to heretics who believe in the existence of the soul. Tattvasaṃgraha, Vol. II, p. 866.

एवंधर्माणमात्मानमजानानाः कुट्टयः ।

बहुधात्र विमन्वाना विवदन्ते परस्परं ॥ ११० ॥

नास्त्यात्मेत्याहुरेकेऽन्येसोस्त्यनित्य इति स्थिताः ।

न कर्तैत्यपरे केचिदभोक्तिति च दुर्दृशः ॥ १११ ॥

Jinasena's Ādipurāṇa, chap. 24, p. 221a Kolhapur ed.

It is thus plain that Bhāmaha was not a Buddhist. Nor was he a Jaina, as his attacks on the अपोहवाद were exploited by Prabhācandra in order to refute Buddhism. Bhāmaha was therefore a Brāhmaṇa, who must have learned Buddhist logic in a Buddhist College, just as Akalaṅkadeva went to Nālanda to receive his education.

Let us now turn to the introduction to the edition of Bhāmaha's work by Pandit Batuk Nath and Pandit Baladeva. This introduction occupies 71 pages, while the text has taken up only 48 pages. Some of the statements could have been omitted with advantage not only to the editors but to the readers also, upon whom this lengthy introduction is inflicted. The editors admit that there is striking similarity both in the views and the words in the sentences dealing with दृष्य and जाति, between Dharmakīrti and Bhāmaha. But an attempt is made to explain it away in the following way.

"We cannot say that Dharmakīrti was the first person to use them. With equal force, we may say that it was Bhāmaha, who wrote them first of all. We see no absurdity in it. If शान्तरक्षित, philosopher as he was, did not find it inconvenient to repeat the phraseology of our poetician, we see no reason why धर्मकीर्ति would not do the same, if he could find something handy cut and dry, from him."

From this it seems to me that the editors have not carefully read the *Tattvasaṃgraha*. Śāntarakṣita repeats or quotes the words of Bhāmaha, whom he calls दुरात्मा कुदृष्टिः, to demolish his arguments against the अपोहवाद, just as Śaṅkarācārya repeats the words of Dignāga and Dharmakīrti to refute the Vijñānavāda in his Bhāṣya¹ on Brahmasūtras. Neither Dharmakīrti nor Śāntarakṣita borrowed their phraseology from Bhāmaha who was दुरात्मा कुदृष्टि and who attacked Dignāga and the विज्ञानवादि school. Principal Dhruva in his foreword to the introduction admits that the editors have failed to prove their contention. It may therefore be taken as established that Bhāmaha came after Dharmakīrti and was a Brāhmaṇa.

The *Tattvasaṃgraha* of Śāntarakṣita may be regarded as a commentary on the fifth chapter of Bhāmaha's work which deals with Buddhist logic. The editors seem to have neglected to

1 "यदन्तर्ज्ञेयरूपं तद्वहिर्विद्वद्भासत" इति — Dignāga.

"सहोपलम्भनियमो" पि — Dharmakīrti.

Anandāśrama ed., Vol. I. pp. 582, 583.

Tattvasaṃgraha, Vol. II, Appendix

study the *Tattvasaṃgraha* and have been led to make the following absurd remarks :

“ In the whole of *काव्यालंकार* there is nothing peculiarly Buddhistic.” This is contradicted by the following passage :—

अस्यात्मा प्रकृतिर्वेति हेत्वपवादिनी ।
धर्मिणोऽस्याऽप्रसिद्धत्वात्तद्धर्मोपि न सेत्स्यति ॥

The Buddhists did not believe in the existence of the soul. Dharmottara says :

सांख्येनोक्तमस्यात्मा । तद्विरुद्धं बौद्धेनोक्तं नास्यात्मेति ।
Nyāyabindu-ṭīkā.

Jinasena says :

जीवसिद्धिविधायीह कृतयुक्त्यनुशासनम् ।
वचस्समन्तभद्रस्य वीरस्येव विजृम्भते ॥

Samantabhadra has proved the existence of the soul by refuting the arguments of the Buddhists in his work called *युक्त्यनुशासन*, which is published and easily accessible. Akalaṅkādeva says :

नाहंकारवशीकृतेन मनसा न द्वेषणा केवलं ।
नैरात्म्यं प्रतिपद्य नश्यति जने कारुण्यबुद्ध्या मया ॥
राज्ञः श्रीहिमशीतलस्य सदसि प्रायो विदग्धात्मनो ।
बौद्धोघान् सकलान् विजित्य सुगतः पादेन विस्फाटितः ॥

Akalaṅkastotra.

The editors remark :

“ *दिङ्नाग*’s definition was rather too general and consequently could be interpreted to apply to every thing, so that every thing will be *प्रत्यक्ष*. *उद्योतकर* did actually interpret it in this way. To avoid this contingency *धर्मकीर्ति* added *अभ्रान्तं* which made it clear that by *प्रत्यक्ष*, we were to mean here *प्रत्यक्षज्ञानं* and nothing else. Who will indulge in such an inexactitude when once it has been so pointed out ? ” The absurdity of these remarks will be obvious to Sanskrit scholars, who will read *Kamalaśīla*’s reply to *Uddyotakara* which I have quoted above. The editor’s argument is, they are *Brāhmaṇas*; *Uddyotakara* was a *Brāhmaṇa*; therefore *Uddyotakara*’s interpretation must be correct.

Another specimen of their argument is the following :

“ Dharmakīrti hailed from the South of India. ज्ञानतरक्षित lived in Bengal in the beginning of the 8th century. Now, we cannot, with any stretch of our imagination, conceive that within half a century such a progress could be possible in those days of hard communication. धर्मकीर्ति becomes sufficiently famous, his works are carried to Kashmira, there भामह utilises them for writing his own work, then he also becomes well-known, his work reaches Bengal and is devoured by ज्ञानतरक्षित, and all this was accomplished within half a century ! It seems to be hardly possible.”

Śāntarakṣita¹ quotes Dharmakīrti's definition of प्रत्यक्ष *directly* from Dharmakīrti's work and not through Bhāmaha, because it is not found in Bhāmaha. Was there any Government order that Śāntarakṣita should borrow directly Dharmakīrti's definition of प्रत्यक्ष from Dharmakīrti but that he should borrow Dharmakīrti's दृष्टान्ता न्यूनतादुक्तिः only through the intervention of Bhāmaha and not directly from Dharmakīrti ? This is most absurd. Besides Śāntarakṣita lived in the ninth century as I have elsewhere proved.

The editors say on p. 48 that the definition ततोऽर्थान् belongs to वसुबन्धु. But in the first foot-note on the same page, they contradict their own statement thus :

वाचस्पतिमिश्र begins his comment upon ‘ अपरे पुनर्वर्णयन्ति ततोऽर्थान् विज्ञानं प्रत्यक्षं । तदेवं प्रत्यक्षलक्षणं समर्थं वासुबन्धवं तावत् प्रत्यक्षलक्षणं विकल्पयितुमुपन्यस्यति- ता° P. 99.

Here the editors plainly tell us that ‘ ततोऽर्थान् ’ is not the definition of Vasubandhu. The students of Sanskrit will be at a loss to know which of these two contradictory statements is reliable. These² mutilated quotations are obviously taken from Dr. Randle's book without understanding the subject. They are not taken from Vācaspati's work. Dr. Randle's method of giving the

1 प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोढमभ्रान्तमभिलापिनी ।

प्रतीतिः कल्पनां कृतिहेतुत्वाद्यात्मिका न तु ॥ १२१४ ॥

Tattvasaṃgraha, Vol. I, p. 366.

2 The first sentence belongs to Uddyotakara, and the second sentence, to Vācaspatimiśra. The two sentences are made into one passage. Vācaspati is thus represented as commenting on his own sentence !

quotations is correct. Instead of exposing themselves to ridicule by this foot-note, the editors would have acted wisely if they had copied his remarks.

On p. 25, the editors say Kielhorn, while noticing a fragment from जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि's work in Poona, wrote :

" My impression certainly was that Jinendrabuddhi has freely copied from Haradatta's Padamañjarī." Dr. Jacobi has shown, on the authority of भविष्योत्तरपुराण, that हरदत्त died in 878 A. C. This will take जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि to the 10th century at least. Dr. Kielhorn was my revered teacher. With great deference to his authority, I beg to differ from him. He has over-looked a passage in Haradatta's commentary in which Haradatta himself assures us that he has freely copied from Jinendrabuddhi, whom he calls Nyāsakāra thus :

न्यासकारस्तु द्वौ विस्तौ परिमाणमस्येति विग्रहं विस्तं परि परिमाणं मन्यते

Padamañjarī, Benares ed. Vol. II, pp. 34-35.

This passage in the Padamañjarī is most interesting and important. Here the Nyāsakāra Jinendrabuddhi's adverse remarks on Patañjali are quoted by Haradatta with approval. I have given this passage in my paper on "Jinendrabuddhi, Kaiyaṭa and Haradatta." The date of Māgha being thus disentangled from the erroneous impression of Dr. Kielhorn, the accuracy of the interpretation put on the verse II, 12 of the Śīsupālavadha by Vallabha and Mallinātha, is thus placed beyond dispute. Māgha belongs to the 8th century because he is mentioned by name along with Kālidāsa and Bhāravi by Nṛpatuṅga and is quoted by Prabhācandra in the ninth century. Both the Kāśikāvṛtti and its Nyāsa are alluded to by Māgha in the 8th century and quoted by Jaina Śākaṭāyana¹, who lived in the ninth century. We are thus forced to place the Kāśikāvṛtti and its Nyāsa before 700 A. D. It may be also added here that the Kāśikā is attacked by Kumārila and quoted by Śaṅkarācārya. The earliest limit to the age of the Kāśikā is given by the Avantīsundarikāthā, according to

1 Jaina Śākaṭāyana contemporary with Amoghavarṣa I, Nyāsakāra and Jaina Śākaṭāyana. Ind. Ant. Vol. (1914 & 1916). Śaṅkarācārya's reference to Jayāditya, Ind. Ant. (1918).

which king Durvinita patronised the poet Bhāravi quoted in the Kāśikā and its Nyāsa. Durvinita lived about 580 A. D. Therefore the Kāśikā and its Nyāsa must be placed between 600 A. D. and 700 A. D. The statements of its author the Chinese traveller who says that Bhartṛhari the author of the Vākyapadīya, died in 650 A. D., and Jayāditya the author of the Kāśikā, died in 661 A. D., lead to the same conclusion. Here Chinese evidence is in perfect harmony with Indian evidence.

Bhāravi 580 A. D.

Bhartṛhari died 650 A. D.

Jayāditya died 661 A. D.

Nyāsakāra

Māgha

Nṛpatuṅga

Jaina Śakaṭāyana } 808 A. D.

It may be pointed out here that Jayāditya the author of the Kāśikā, who mentions the Vākyapadīya of Bhartṛhari and quotes Bhāravi's verse, must be assigned to the first half of the 7th century. And his Nyāsakāra must be assigned to either the 1st half or the 2nd half of the same century.

Let us now turn to Mr. Kane's view. He says "The Harṣacarita clearly alludes to the Nyāsa in the expression कृतयुरुपदन्यासाः as the commentator Śaṅkara, who appears to be an early writer, explains कृतयुरुपदन्यासाः as कृतः अभ्यस्तो युरुपदे दुर्बोधशब्दे न्यासो वृत्तिविवरणं यैः. Though, as I have shown, there is no manuscript evidence for the reading वृत्तिविवरणं, let us accept this as the only correct reading. Then न्यासो वृत्तिविवरणं will mean the न्यास, the commentary on the Kāśikāvṛtti. Now Bāṇa lived in the first half of the 7th century. Jayāditya also lived in the 1st half of the same century. It is also perfectly possible that Jayāditya's commentator, the Nyāsakāra belonged to the same period,

Bhāravi 580 A. D.

| quoted by

Bāṇa — } Jayāditya, and the } 600 A. D.
 } Nyāsakāra } 650 A. D.

I can cite the following case which is similar—

Śāntaraksita }
Kamalaśīla } — Pātrakesari

These three authors belong to the first half of the ninth century. From these two analogous cases, we can conclude that Bāṇa refers to his two contemporaries Jayāditya and his commentator Nyāsakāra. The most important fact which is worth noting here is that Bhāravi is quoted by the न्यास which is वृत्तिविवरण. If Mr. Kane supposes that his वृत्तिविवरणन्यास preceded Bāṇa, then we shall be forced to suppose that there were two वृत्तिविवरणन्यासs, one preceding Bhāravi and the other succeeding him. But such a supposition would be impossible. Therefore we can maintain, even without the help of the commentator Śaṅkara that Bāṇa was contemporary with Jayāditya and his Nyāsakāra. And as Dharmakīrti came into prominence in the 2nd half of the seventh century and as Bhāmaha came after him, he must be understood to refer to the Kāśikā-Nyāsa. And his words

शिष्टप्रयोगमात्रेण न्यासकारमतेन वा ।
तृचा समस्तषष्ठीकं न कथंचिदुदाहरेत् ॥
सूत्रज्ञापकमात्रेण वृत्रहन्ता यथोदितः ।

must be interpreted by the light of the facts before us, by construing सूत्रन्यापकमात्रेण with the preceding words thus :—

शिष्टप्रयोगमात्रेण न्यासकारमतेन वा सूत्रज्ञापकमात्रेण तृचा समस्तषष्ठीकं न कथंचिदुदाहरेत् यथा वृत्रहन्ता [लोके] उदितः.

In explaining वृत्रहन्ता यथा उदितः [लोक] we can safely supply the word लोक on the authority of Bhāmaha himself who says :

समुदायार्थज्ञानं यत्तदपार्थक्यमिष्यते ।
दाडिमानि दशापूपाः षडित्यादि यथोदितम् ॥ IV, 8.

This is beautifully elucidated by the following passage in the Mahābhāṣya where Patañjali says :

यथा लोके । लोके ह्यर्थवन्ति चानर्थकानि च वाक्यानि दृश्यन्ते । अर्थवन्ति तावत् -
'देवदत्त गामभ्याज शुक्लां दण्डेन देवदत्त गामभ्याज कृष्णाम् इति ॥ अनर्थकानि —'
दश दाडिमानि षड्रूपाः इति.

Kaiyata explains यथा लोके इति । कात्यायनेनासंप्रत्यये लोको दृष्टान्तत्वे-
नोपात्तः । भाष्यकारस्तु वाक्याध्याहारेणानर्थकत्वे लोकं दृष्टान्तत्वेन योजयति ॥

We are here forced to conclude that Bhāmaha, following the authority of Kātyāyana and Patañjali, wants us to understand him to say यथा उदितम् [लोके]. Similarly वृत्रहन्ता यथोदितः means यथा उदितः लोके. Three conditions are necessary to identify Bhāmaha's Nyāsakāra, (a) He must be known as Nyāsakāra. (b) He draws a ज्ञापक from Pāṇini's sūtra and (c) he belongs to the 7th century. These three conditions are not satisfied in the case of क्षेमेन्द्रन्यास, शाकटायनन्यास and योशिन्यास. Therefore none of them can be identified with the Nyāsakāra referred to by Bhāmaha. The other instances mentioned by the editors are

स्पष्टं चैव गृपधूप इत्यत्र न्यासपदमञ्जरीदिषु Mādhava Dhātuvṛtti.

अकथितं च इत्यत्र न्यासे नि(नी)वहि हरि जिहृण्डोऽत्र प्रस्तुत्य न्यासो-
द्योते च अजादीनां ग्रामादीनां चेषिततमत्वमन्विशेष्टानियुक्तम् ।

Idem :

The two references to the न्यास quoted in the above passage are actually found in Jinendrabuddhi's Nyāsa, Vol. I, pp. 298 and 520. And सोद्योत is also a commentary on the Nyāsa of Jinendrabuddhi. The conclusion to be drawn from the facts before us is that where Sāyana uses the two terms न्यास and न्यासकार, without any prefix to them, he restricts them to the काशिकाविवरणसञ्ज्ञिका and its author Jinendrabuddhi. In confirmation of this view, I shall cite below some more instances :

'हन्तेर्ज' इत्यत्र च न्यासे हन्तेरिति तिषा निर्देशाद् यङ्कु कि जभावाभावाज्जङ्घनीति
भवतीति कृतानुस्वारलोपः प्रत्युदाहृतः । अत्रात्रेयः । न्यासे प्रत्युदाहरणं जङ्घ-
नीहीति पठन् भाषायां हेरपित्वादीडभावाच्छान्दससुदाहरणमित्याह ।

Mādh. Dhātupāṭha, Benares ed. अदादि p. 6.

Chakravarti's ed., Nyāsa, Vol. VI, p. 533.

तथा च निश्रन्थीत्यत्र न्यासे ग्रन्थसंदर्भ इति चुरादावित्युक्तत्वा क्रयादावपीत्युक्तम्.

Mādh. Dhā. क्रयादि. p. 302 ; Chakr. ed., Nyāsa, Vol. I, p. 560.

तूरुस्तुशम्यम इत्यत्र वृत्तौ तुरिति सौत्रो धातुरिति । अत्र न्यासे वृद्धयर्थ इत्येके ।
हिंसार्थ इत्यपरे । तस्य च लुग्विकरणत्वं स्मर्यते इति ।

Mādh. Dhā., Benares ed. अदादि, p. 50 ;
Chakravarti's ed., Nyāsa, Vol. III. p. 827.

यदाह न्यासकारः । 'ये निजादिभ्यः परे पठ्यन्ते ते सर्वे छान्दसाः तथाहि तान्य-
ठित्वा छन्दसीत्युक्तम्' इति ।

Mādh. Dhā. Benares ed, जुहोत्यादि, p. 126.
Chakravarti's ed., Nyāsa, Vol. III, p. 874.

न्यासकारोपि कर्ष इति शपा निर्देशाद्भावादिकस्य ग्रहणमित्याह ।

Mādh. Dhā. Benares ed. तुदादि. p. 214.
Chakravarti's ed. Nyāsa, Vol. I, p. 761.

From these instances it is obvious that the terms न्यास and न्यासकार used in the Mādhaviya Dhātuvṛtti are restricted to काशिका-
विवरणपञ्जिरा and its author : जिनन्द्रबुद्धि. Those who ignore this fact
and say that many Nyāsakāras are mentioned in that work, "tell
us something less than the truth."

The editors, not content to repeat this mistake of previous
writers, venture to maintain that Jinendrabuddhi is not the
Nyāsakāra referred to by Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita. This view is refuted
by the following passages.

पूर्वत्रासिद्धमिति [VIII, 2, 1] सूत्रे काशिकायां बहेः कान्ताणिचि चडि
औजडदित्युदाहृत्य क्तिन्नन्तस्य तु औजिडदित्युक्तम् । तत्रैव न्यासकृता णौकृतस्य टिलोपस्य
स्थानिवद्भाव इति व्याख्यातम् ।

Praḍhamanoramā, Benares ed., Part II, p. 614.
Chakravarti's ed., Nyāsa, Vol. III, pp. 951, 952.

त्वत्कपित्रकोमत्कपितृक इति वृत्तिग्रन्थं (5. 1. 29) व्याख्याय न्यासकार उज्जग्राह ।

Praḍhamanoramā, Part I, p. 118.
Chakravarti's Nyāsa, Vol. I, p. 76.

Let us now turn to the text. The editors seem to have mis-
understood the following verse :

सर्वं शास्त्राविरुद्धत्वात्मवर्गमविरोधिनी ।

यथा लुचिस्तनु जेणी तन्ममानाणि सन्ति वा ॥ V. 18.

Here the correct reading is त्रिणि तत्प्रमाणानि "those well-known
proofs are three" which is an illustration of आगमविरोधिनी प्रतिज्ञा
because according to the Buddhist view there are only two
proofs, as said by the author himself.

सत्त्वादयः प्रमाणाभ्यां प्रत्यक्षमनुमा च ते ॥ V. 5.

In the same way as हेत्वपवादिनी प्रतिज्ञा is illustrated

अस्त्यात्मा प्रकृतिर्वेति ज्ञेया हेत्वपवादिनी ।

धर्मिणोऽस्याऽप्रसिद्धत्वात्तद्धर्मोऽपि न सेत्स्यति ॥ V. 15.

because the Buddhist view is that there is no soul.

The following line

प्रसिद्धधर्मेति मता श्रोत्रग्राह्यो ध्वनिर्यथा ॥ V. 19.

should have been written thus :

प्रसिद्ध (विरुद्ध) धर्मेति मताऽश्रोत्रग्राह्यो ध्वनिर्यथा

so as to correspond to the fault विरुद्धधर्मा mentioned in

विरुद्धधर्मा प्रत्यक्षवादिनी चेति दुष्यति ॥ V. 13.

as the last and immediately following fault is thus illustrated :

प्रत्यक्षवादिनी तेन प्रमाणेनैव बाध्यते ।

यथा शीतोऽनलो नास्ति रूपमुष्णः क्षपाकरः ॥ V. 20.

The last chapter of Bhāmaha's work is most important as it throws a flood of light on the text of Pāṇini's sūtras and Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya. Bhāmaha says :

वृद्धिपक्षं प्रयुज्जीत संक्रमेऽपि सृजेर्यथा ।

मार्जन्यधररागं ते पतन्तो बाष्पबिन्दवः ॥ VI. 31.

This reminds us of the following passage :

इहान्ये वैयाकरणा सृजेरजादौ संक्रमे विभाषा वृद्धिमारभन्ते-परिसृजन्ति परिमार्जन्ति
Mahābhāṣya, Nirṇayasagar ed., Vol. I, p. 127.

It was the duty of the editors to point out where the text of Bhāmaha differs from that of Pāṇini as interpreted by his commentators. Bhāmaha says :

सरूपशेषं तु पुमान् स्त्रिया यत्र च शिष्यते ।

यथाह वरुणाविन्द्रौ भवौ शवौ सृडाविति ॥ VI, 32.

These forms are condemned by Vāmana in his Kāvyaśālikā-sūtravṛtti (V. 2. 1). Kāśikā (I, 2, 67) says :

इन्द्रश्च इन्द्राणी चेन्द्रेन्द्राण्यौ । पुंयोगादाख्याया (IV, 1. 48) मित्यपरो विशेषः-

This opinion is accepted by all the commentators. The text given above is either wrong or corrupt. We read :

एवं णिचः प्रयोगस्तु सर्वत्राऽलंकृतिः परा ।

लिङ्गत्रयोपपन्नं च ताच्छील्यविषयं णिनिम् ॥ VI, 46.

We should read

तलङ्गत्रयोपपन्नश्च ताच्छील्यावषयो णानः ॥

The word णान is masculine. Pāṇini says :

सुष्यजातौ णिनि स्ताच्छील्ये । III, 2, 78.

In his comments on भूत III, 2, 84 Kaiyata often speaks of अयं णिनिः. Therefore in the second line of the above verse there are three mistakes. In the first line of VI, 38, we read :

पञ्चराजीति च यथा प्रयुज्जीत द्वियुः स्त्रियाम्

Here also द्वियुः the object of प्रयुज्जात is a mistake for द्वियु as Pāṇini says संख्यापूर्वा द्वियुः II, 1, 52 and as Kātyāyana and Patañjali say :

अकारान्तोत्तरपदो द्वियुः स्त्रियाम्

Mahābhāṣya II. 4. 30.

Nirṇayasāgara ed. Vol. II, p. 546.

ताच्छील्यादिषु चेष्यन्ते सर्व एव तुनादयः ।

विशेषणैव तत्रेष्टा युत्कुरुज्वरजिष्णुचः ॥

Bhāmaha VI. 48.

Here युत् is a mistake for युच् according to Pāṇini III, 2, 148.

चलनशब्दार्थादकर्मका च्

In Bhāmaha VI. 50, we read :

ल्युटं च कर्तृविषयं देहनो रमणो यथा ॥

The termination in रमण is not ल्युट् but ल्य according to Pāṇini's sūtra नान्दिग्राह III. 1. 134 as the root रम् is mentioned in नन्यादि गण according to all the commentaries. And in the line

अण् महारजनाह्लाक्षारोचनाभ्यां तथाच ठक् ॥ VI. 51.

अण् is a mistake for अच् as we learn from Kātyāyana's Vārtika on Pāṇini IV. 2. 2. Nor can we excuse in line

रोदिति स्वपितीत्यादि सहेटा सार्वधातुधकम् ॥ VI. 58.

the mistake for सार्वधातुकम्.

In line VI. 19, उरा गौरात should be written उराजौरिति.

The mistake is due to the misunderstanding of the text. In line III, 20

बहुसात्वाश्रयत्वाच्च सदृश(?)त्वमुदन्वता ॥

बहुसात्वाश्रय is a mistake for बहुसत्वाश्रय. सदृशत्व may be perhaps सदृशस्त्वम्.

In verse III, 25 विरोध is mentioned as an अलंकार between विश-
षोक्त and तुल्ययोगिता. But in verse III, 2

अपह्नुति विशेषोक्तिं विशेषं तुल्ययोगिताम् ॥

Here विशष may be a mistake for विरोध. In verse VI इममुविष्ट
च should be इममुविष्टश्च as मनुः with or without अनुबन्ध is masculine,
cf. कुसुददिर्मनुश्चातुरथि कः स्यात् Jainendra III, 2, 94. इह समासे मनुक्तार्थः
Nyāyapraveśavṛttipañcikā, p. 51. मनुप् सिद्धः Kāśikā IV, 1, 32.
In verse VI, 56 प्रकरणो should be प्रकरणे. See Vārtikas on Pāṇini V,
2, 107 and 109. In इतिः प्रयुक्तः प्रायेण &c., verse VI, 7. मता should be
मतौ as Kātyāyana refers to the 2 affixes as तां. In अभ्यस्तेषु प्रयोक्तव्य-
मदन्तं च तदः शतः असौ दधदलंकारं स्रजं च विविधं च शोभत ॥ VI, 59.
Here विदेः is wrong as विद् forms विद्वान् and विद्वन् Pāṇini VI, 1, 36.
Only धा and भृ do not take लुप् (VI, 1, 80). I have pointed out
only a few mistakes made by the editors. There are many others
which it is needless to notice here. The only portion of the
edition under review, which is really very valuable, is the fore-
word contributed by Principal Dhruva. But the work done by
Pandit Batuk and Pandit Baladeva, I mean the lengthy intro-
duction and the text of Bhāmaha presented by them is anything
but creditable to the Hindu University at Benares. In conclusion
I may be permitted to express the hope that some scholar who has
made a special study of बौद्धन्याय and महाभाष्य will favour us with a
better edition of Bhāmaha's work than the one issued by Pandit
Batuknath and Pandit Baladeva.

MISCELLANEA
NOTES ON INDIAN CHRONOLOGY

BY

P. K. GODE, M. A.

V

RASIKAJĪVANA OF GADĀDHARABHATTA
AND ITS PROBABLE DATE

Dr. S. K. De mentions¹ a work called *Rasikajīvana* as a minor work on *alāṃkāra* by Gadādharaḥṭṭa. He describes it as a "work on Rasa, which also bears the character of an anthology". It is in 10 prabandhas. Regnaud gives an account of the Paris Biblioth. Nationale Ms of this work².

Aufrecht records only 3 Mss of the work, viz. (1) Paris (D 217) fragmentary; (2) Bühler 554 and (3) BL 94. No. 1 is the same as is described by Regnaud and mentioned above. No. 2 is the copy mentioned in List II, published by Bühler in Z D. M. G., Vol. 42, p. 530. The Mss corresponding to this list were deposited at the Elphinstone College and are now called the collection of 1866-8 in the Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute. The Ms referred to by Bühler is No. 151 of 1866-68. No. 3 of Aufrecht refers to the list of Mss in private libraries prepared by Bhandarkar in 1893. The Mss in this list are not available.

It will thus be seen that Ms No. 151 of 1866-68 which is a complete modern copy of an old original of the *Rasikajīvana* is rare and important as the only other copy of the work in Paris Biblioth. Nationale is fragmentary. I have, therefore, tried to collect some data from a cursory perusal of the Ms which shows that it is a late compilation serving as a thesaurus of illustrations for the study of *rasas*.

1. *Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I, p. 291.

2. *La Rhetorique Sanskrite*, p. 379.

Verses 4 and 5¹ in the preamble of the MS give us the parentage of the author and the purpose of the writer in composing the work. The colophon² does not give any important data about the personality of the author or the date of composition of the work. The work quotes from not less than 122 authors and this fact harmonizes with the expression “नानाकविनिर्मितसूक्तयः” indicating the nature of contents of the work mentioned in verse 4 of the preamble. Some authors are quoted innumerable times while others are quoted once or twice only. I give below a list of these authors mentioning against each the folio of the Ms on which he is quoted. It is not possible to give all references for want of space.

Adbhutapūṇya (fol. 99)
 Ambastā (fol. 13)
 Akabarakālidāsa (fol. 14)
 Abhinavagupta (fol. 27)
 Amarūka (fol. 3)
 Ānandavarddhana (fol. 30)
 Akāśapoli (fol. 87)
 Acala (fol. 109)
 Avantivarman (fol. 111)

Bhavabhūti (fol. 2)
 Bhāratikavi (fol. 4)
 Bhānukara (fol. 5)
 Bhartrhari (fol. 43)
 Bilhana (fol. 43)
 Bānabhadra (fol. 112)
 Bilvamaṅgala (fol. 6)
 Bāṇa (fol. 21)

Bhāsa (fol. 63)
 Bhoja (fol. 27)
 Bhorānātha (fol. 45)
 Bhojaprabandha (fol. 97)

Candracūḍa (fol. 6)
 Candra (fol. 95)
 Cāpakya (fol. 129)
 Candēśvara (fol. 3)
 Candrakavi (fol. 43)
 Candraka (fol. 43)
 Candradeva (fol. 130)

Dandin (fol. 77)
 Dāmodarabhaṭṭa or
 Dāmodara (fol. 2)
 Dharanīdhara (fol. 16)
 Dharmadāsa (fol. 113)

1. On folio 1 —

“उमानूजेन गदाधरेण प्रत्युद्भवं सेवितशंकरेण ।
 गौरीशपुत्रेण रसज्ञहेतोर्विरच्यते कश्चन काव्यबन्धः ॥ ४ ॥
 इहोदाहरणं नानाकविनिर्मितसूक्तयः ।
 लिख्यन्ते लक्ष्यवस्तुनां लक्ष्णान्यपि कुत्रचित् ॥ ५ ॥”

On folio 137 —

“इति श्रीभवानीभावनासक्तशांकरभट्टदामोदरभट्टसु-
 त्रीगौरीपातिसूनुगदाधरभट्टेन विरचिते रसिकजीवने दशमः प्रबंधः पूर्णः”

Dharmavara (fol. 4)
 Dharmaśāstra (fol. 68)
 Dhanapāla (fol. 129)

Galidiera (author himself)
(fol. 1)

Girīdhara (fol. 4)
Gangayāma (fol. 5)
Govardhana (fol. 42)
Ganapati (fol. 4)
Goṣṭhīmīśra (fol. 5)
Govindarāja (fol. 41)
Gangadeva (fol. 42)

Harigaṇa (fol. 9 ,
Hanūmat (fol. 11)

Indrakasi (fol. 124)

Jagannātharāya (fol. 34)
Jagadeva (fol. 69)

Keśava (fol. 4)
 Khaṇḍaprasāsti (fol. 9)
 Kṛṣṇamīśra (fol. 38)
 Kumuda (fol. 7)
 Kālidāsa (fol. 30)
 Kumudākara (fol. 65)
 Kumāranāyaka (fol. 115)
 Kumāradāsa (fol. 67)
 Kalaśa (fol. 112)
 Kṣemendra (fol. 112)
 Kaṅkana (fol. 116)

Lilāvāṭikāra (fol. 120)
Lakṣmīdhara (fol. 31)
Lakṣmīkavi (fol. 119)
Lakṣmana (fol. 2)

Mayūrabhaṭṭa (fol. 6)
Murāri (fol. 7)
Mallabhaṭṭa or Mallibhaṭṭa
(fol. 28)

Maithila (fol. 90)
Māgadhamādhava (fol. 49)

Mahādeva (fol. 6)
 Mādhava (fol. 12)
 Morikā (fol. 86)
 Mahānāṭaka (fol. 89)
 Māgha (fol. 104)

Nāgendra (fol. 47)
Nidrādaridra (fol. 91)

Parimala (fol. 28)
Pāṇini (fol. 97)
Pralhādāna (fol. 29)
Puspākara (fol. 46)

Rāghava Caitanya (fol. 6)
 Rājasekhara (fol. 87)
 Revākara (fol. 65)
 Rākṣasapaṇḍita (fol. 109)
 Rājesvara (fol. 117)
 Raghunātha (fol. 7)
 Rāmacandra (fol. 9)
 Ratnākara (fol. 98)
 Rudra (fol. 12)
 Raghupati (fol. 113)
 Raudra (fol. 120)
 Ravigupta (fol. 132)

Śamkaraguru (fol. 1)
 Śamkara (fol. 60)
 Śaṅgadhara (fol. 3)
 Śridatta (fol. 7)
 Śriharṣa (fol. 9)
 Śaktikumāra (fol. 51)
 Śakuna (fol. 87)
 Śrīpāla (fol. 107)
 Śvetāmbara (fol. 117)
 Sadāsīva (fol. 7)
 Subandhu (fol. 39)
 Sānmāsika (fol. 86)

Trivikrama (fol. 70)

Umāpati (fol. 29)
Uddiyakavi (fol. 100)

Vācaspati (fol. 6)
 Vallabha (fol. 26)
 Vaidyabhānu (fol. 48)
 Vālmiki (fol. 67)
 Vāsudeva (fol. 96)
 Vidyāpati (fol. 114)
 Vijjika (fol. 130)
 Vasiṣṭha (fol. 133)
 Vastupāla (fol. 23)

Vyāsa (fol. 43)
 Vararuci (fol. 58)
 Vāyūmiśra (fol. 91)
 Vāṇivilāsa (fol. 98)
 Venīsamhāra (fol. 128)
 Viṣṇu (fol. 132)
 Yaśovarman (fol. 124)

The foregoing list is sufficiently comprehensive for an anthology illustrating *rasas* in Sanskrit poetics from all possible poets early and late.

We now come to the question of the probable date of composition of this anthology. The Ms contains two verses, as far as my cursory search goes, which are ascribed to *Jagannātharāya*. These are :—

Folio 34 —

“ तावद्यापय दिवसान् कोकिल विरसान् वनान्तरे निवसन् ।
 यावन्मिलदलिमालः कोपि रसालः समुल्लसति ॥ ५४ ॥

जगन्नाथरायस्य ”

Folio 47 —

“ आरामाधियतिविवेकविकला दूतं रसानीरसा-
 वात्याभिः परुषीकृता दशदिशश्चण्डातपो दुःसहः ।
 इच्छं धन्वनि चंपकस्य सकण्ठे संहारहंतावपि-
 त्वाभिचन्नमृतेन तोयदकुतोप्याविकृतो वेधसा ॥ ९६ ॥

पाण्डितरायस्य ”

Out of these two verses I have been able to identify the first. It is from the *R:sagaṅgādhara* of *Jagannātharāya*. There is some variation in the first line of the verse as found in the printed edition¹ of the work in which it appears as under :—

“ तावत्कोकिल विरसान्यापय दिवसान्वनान्तरे निवसन् ।
 यावन्मिलदलिमालः कोपि रसालः समुल्लसति ॥ ”

In spite of this variation which is due to the interchange of the two phrases ‘कोकिल विरसाय’ and ‘यापय दिवसान्’ the identification is perfectly clear. The date of *R:sagaṅgādhara* as fixed by scholars is “ C. 1650 ”². The work *Ranjitvāna* or *Caḍādhara* which I have described above must therefore have been composed after A. D. 1650 or the middle of the 17th Century.

1. Kāvya-mālā Edition (N. S. Press), 1894, p. 330.

2. Keith : *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 396.

REVIEWS

THE KADAMBA KULA— A History of Ancient and Mediæval Karnataka, by GEORGE M. MORAES M. A., with a Preface by the Rev. H. HERAS S. J., pp. 504, with 56 illustrations, Maps and Pedigrees, (Studies in Indian History of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, No. 5).

THE PALLAVA GENEALOGY — An attempt to unify the Pallava Pedigrees of the Inscriptions, by the Rev. H. HERAS S. J. (Studies in Indian History of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, No. 7).

Two of the most glaring defects of the Bombay University are its neglect of Indian History and its indifference to research. It is true that students are now allowed to take the M. A. degree by thesis, and it is proposed to establish Doctorates on the lines of Western Universities. But what is the value of a Doctorate unless the candidate has undergone a systematic training in the handling of materials ? At London University, he is required to work under the personal supervision of an acknowledged master of his subject ; in Bombay, he is usually placed under the nominal guidance of a Professor who himself may or may not have received the necessary training, but who, in any case, is too overburdened with routine lectures to be able to spare more than a very perfunctory amount of time for guidance. Two honourable exceptions to this melancholy rule are provided by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Poona, and the Indian Historical Research Institute at St. Xavier's College, Bombay. Two monographs from the latter institution lie before us at the moment, both being studies in Indian history issued under its auspices. The first of these is a

history of that little known dynasty, the Kadamba Kula of the Karnataka and Mysore, by Mr. G. M. Moraes, which was presented for the M. A. degree and secured for its writer the Chancellor's Medal in 1929. Up to the present, the early Hindu dynasties of the Deccan have been shamefully neglected. They were described, fifty years ago, in the masterly essays on the Early History of the Deccan and the Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts contributed to the *Bombay Gazetteer* by Bhandarkar and Fleet. But since then a steady stream of inscriptions, copper-plate grants and other archaeological discoveries have necessarily rendered this pioneer work out of date. And yet no one has come forward to remedy this state of affairs. Vincent Smith's *Early History of India* devotes a disproportionate amount of space to Alexander and to the history of Northern India, dismissing the Deccan in a single inadequate chapter. The long-expected volume II of the *Cambridge History of India*, now twenty years overdue, is still unpublished; and the only account of the Kadambas known to the present reviewer is to be found in Rice's *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions* (1909). For this reason, Mr. Moraes' handsome volume is doubly welcome. It is the only full-dress work on a præ-Mahomedan Hindu dynasty in existence. Mr. Moraes has carefully studied every available original authority, and his knowledge of the inscriptions and copper-plate grants (including twenty-three unpublished ones, which are excellently edited in the Appendix), is accurate and up-to-date. But he has been by no means content with this. Father Heras rightly insists, both by precept and example, on the importance of field-work, and quite the most attractive portion of the present book is the series of plates illustrating the fine temples and other monuments of the period which have come down to us. This must have necessitated much travelling in out-of-the-way parts of the Karnatak. Scarcely less interesting are the reproductions of the coins and seals of the dynasty; both open up new chapters in the history of Hindu art. People who know little or nothing of the subject are apt to sneer at præ-Mahomedan Hindu History as being mainly archaeological, and consisting merely of genealogical tables. Those who think so must read Part VII of the present work, which Mr. Moraes devotes to Administration, Art, Literature, Social Life and Trade and Industry among the Kadambas,

These nine chapters are a valuable and original contribution to the study of Early Hindu Social History. Mr. Moraes, rightly in our opinion, looks upon the Kadambas as an indigenous tribe, but he does not mention the epoch-making theories to the contrary put forward by D. R. Bhandarkar in the *Indian Antiquary*. He might also have pointed out that the name is totemistic in origin, as in the case of Śuṅgas and Udumbaras, (and possibly the Pallavas) who also bear the names of trees. As may be expected in publications of the Indian Research Institute, the book is fully equipped with maps, genealogical trees, and a list of authorities. The latter, however, has some omissions. Vincent Smith's *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, recently revised by Codrington, is not mentioned. The foot-notes are full and accurate, but the abbreviations employed therein should have been noted in their proper places in the list of authorities. A few errors and misprints have escaped the proof-reader's vigilance, e. g. on p. 105, note 1. In the genealogy facing p. 167, there is apparently a mistake about Nos. 5 and 6, who were not father and son, but brothers. The book is admirably produced, and is a credit to its Indian publishers. We hope that it will be followed by similar monographs on the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Cālukyas, and other Hindu dynasties.

THE PALLAVA GENEALOGY, by Father Heras, is an excellent example of the spade-work which must be undertaken as a preliminary to historical research. The brilliant dynasty of the Pallavas has attracted much attention of recent years. Its artistic achievements were of the first order, and it formed a connecting link between the culture of the North and the South. But hitherto a vast amount of confusion has been caused by the apparently conflicting dynastic lists. The discrepancies between the Prakrit and Sanskrit records had even led some scholars to postulate separate Prakrit and Sanskrit dynasties ! Father Heras has shown that many of the kings bear a variety of names and titles which are synonyms for the same individual, and that this has been at the root of many of the apparent contradictions in the numerous dynastic lists which have come down to us. In order to reconcile these he has prepared three elaborate charts. The first contains in parallel columns the dynastic lists as given in

forty-five inscriptions. The third gives the various synonyms of the different rulers, which have been the cause of so much of the trouble and confusion ; and the second gives the Pallava Genealogy as it emerges. Father Heras has by this means established several important conclusions ; the Sanskrit and Prakrit records do not relate to different dynasties, and some of the so-called Prakrit kings are identical with some of the kings in the Sanskrit lists. There were twenty-four Pallava kings only, and one dynasty only—that of Kāñcīpura. The Foreward on Principles of Criticism should be studied as a model by all students engaged in research.

H. G. RAWLINSON

APPENDIX I

List of Journals, Periodicals, and Institutions on Exchange

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(Upto 6th July 1931)

- 1 The " Man ", Royal Anthropological Institute, 50, Great Russell Street, London (England).
- 2 Journal of the R. A. Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 74, Grosvenor Street, London (England).
- 3 Asiatic Review, 3, Victoria Street, London, S. W. I.
- 4 The Buddhist Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 41, Great Russell Street, London, W. C. I.
- 5 The Librarian, School of Oriental Studies, London Institution Finsbury Circus, London E. C. 2. (England).
- 6 " The Shrine of Wisdom ", Aahlu, 6, Hermon Hill, London, E. II.
- 7 Zeitschrift der Deutschen, Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig, (Germany).
- 8 Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften N. W. 7, Unter de London 38, Barlin, (Germany).
- 9 Universitäts-Bibliothek, Gottingen, (Germany).
- 10 Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munchen, (Germany).
- 11 Zeitschrift fur Buddhismus Oskar Schloss Verlag, Munchen Neubiberg, (Germany).
- 12 Zeitschrift fur Indologie und Iranistik, Deutschen Morgenlandischen, Gesellschaft, Leipzig, (Germany).
- 13 Berlin Academy of Science, Berlin.
- 14 Bavarian Academy of Science, Munich.
- 15 The Director of Indian Institute Oslo University Oslo, Norway.
- 16 Oriental Institute Prague (Czechoslovakia).
- 17 The Editor " Indologica Pragensia " seminar fur Indologie der Deutschen Universitat Prague (Czechoslovakia).
- 18 Roesznick Orgentalistyczuy, Lwow, (Poland).
- 19 " The Journal Asiatique " Societe Asiatique, Rue Jacob No. 13 (VI°) Paris.
- 20 Academie des Inscriptions, at Belles-Letters, 82 Rue Bonaparte, 82 Paris (France).
- 21 Memoirs de la Societe, de Linguistique de Paris, 5, Quai Maloquais, Paris, (France).
- 22 L'Instruction Publique et Des Beaux-Arts Musee Guiment, 6 Place d'Iena 7 Paris (XVIIe).
- 23 L'Ecole Francaise, d'Extreme-Orient, Hanoi, (French Indo-China).
- 24 " The New Orient ", 12 Fifth Avenue, New York City, (U. S. A.).
- 25 Smithsonian, Institution, Washington, D. C. (U. S. A.)
- 26 " The Theosophical Path ", International Theosophical Headquarters, Point Loma, California, (U. S. A.).

- 27 "Rays from the Rose Cross", The Rosicrusian Fellowship, Oceanside, California (U. S. A.).
- 28 Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, Boston, Massachusetts, (U. S. A.).
- 29 The Museum Journal, University Museum, Philadelphia, Pa, (U. S. A.)
- 30 The Political Science Quarterly, C/o The Academy of Political Science, Kent Hall, Columbia University, New York, (U. S. A.).
- 31 The Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 104, South 5th Street, Philadelphia, (U. S. A.),
- 32 The Journal of the American Oriental Society, Yale University Press, Connecticut, (U. S. A.).
- 33 The American Anthropologist, C/o American Anthropological Association, 41, North Queen St. Lancaster, (U. S. A.),
- 34 The Ohio Journal of Science, Ohio State University, Columbus, (U. S. A.).
- 35 Linguistic Society of America, Philadelphia, (U. S. A.).
- 36 The Journal of Society of Oriental Research, Trinity College, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.
- 37 "Nuova Cultura " Della R. Università di Napoli, Via Sanita No. 131, Vapoli, (Italy).
- 38 Oriental School, University of Rome, Rome (Italy).
- 39 Akademie der Wissenschaft in Wien, Wien, (Austria).
- 40 Journal of Oriental Institute, Universität, Wien, (Austria).
- 41 Archives Orientalis, Uppsala, (Sweden).
- 42 Kungl Universitetes Bibliotek, Uppsala, (Sweden).
- 43 "Kern Institute ", Ledhen, (Holland).
- 44 Section d'Etudes Orientales Societe des Sciences de Varsovie Varsovie, Rue Sniadeckich 8 (Poland).
- 45 The Journal of the Java Institute, Weltevreden, (Java).
- 46 Royal Batavia Society, Museum, Konigsplein West 12, Batavia, (Java).
- 47 The Buddhist Chronicle, Ananda College, Colombo.
- 48 The Eastern Buddhist, C/o Lhe Library, Otani University, Muromaci-Kashira, Kyoto, Japan.
- 49 "Revista Teosofica ", Official Organ of the " Section Cubana " of the " Sociedad Teosofica ", Apartado 365, Habana Cuba.
- 50 "Theosophy in Australia ", 114, Hunter Street, Sydney, N. S. W.
- 51 Fundamental Library of the Central Asian State University, Tashkent, U. S. S. Russian.
- 52 Arbatamat Parbhakar Karyalaya, Poona No. 2.
- 53 The Jain Sahitya Samshodhan, C/o Bharat Jain Vidyalaya, Bhandarkar Institute Road, Poona No. 4.
- 54 "Progress of Education ", C/o Aryabhushana Press, Poona No. 4.
- 55 Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Town Hall, Bombay.
- 56 "Vividha-Jñāna-Vistār ", 81, Phanaswadi, Bombay No. 2.
- 57 The Journal of the Anthropological Society, Town Hall, Bombay.
- 58 The Indian Antiquary, C/o British India Press, Mazgaon, Bombay.

- 59 Journal of the K. R. Kanna Oriental Institute, 172, Hornby Road, Sukhadwalla Buildings, Fort Bombay.
- 60 The Jain Hitaishi, C/o Manager, Jain Grantha Ratnakar Karyalaya, Hirabag, Girgaon, Bombay.
- 61 The Iranian Association, Alice Buildings, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.
- 62 University of Bombay, Bombay.
- 63 "Jain Gazette," Office, 21 Parish Venkatachala Iyer Street, G. T. Madras.
- 64 Madras University Library, Madras.
- 65 The Indian Review, C/o G. B. Natesan and Co., Madras.
- 65 The "Kalpaka," The Latent Light culture, (Tinnevely), Madras.
- 67 Educational Review, No. 4 Mount Road, Madras.
- 68 Shri Vaisnava Siddhanta Sabha, 5/11 Adiappa Mudaly Street Purasawalkam Vepery, P. O. Madras.
- 69 "Vedanta Kesari," Shri Ramkrishna Matha, Mylapore, Madras.
- 70 Journal of Oriental Research, Mylapore, Madras.
- 71 The Indian Historical Quarterly, C/o The Calcutta Oriental Press, 107 Mechuabazar Street, Calcutta.
- 72 "The Sanskrit Sahityaparishat," Shyambazar, Calcutta.
- 73 Journal of Department of Letters, Calcutta-University, Calcutta.
- 74 The Calcutta Review, Senate House, Calcutta.
- 75 Journal of the Mahabodhi Society, 4 A College Square, Calcutta.
- 76 "The People," 12, Court Street, Lahore.
- 77 The Central Museum, Lahore.
- 78 The Vedic Magazine, the Vedic Magazine Office, Lahore.
- 79 Journal of Indian History, History Department, Allahabad University, Allahabad.
- 80 Allahabad University Journal, Department of English, Allahabad University, Allahabad.
- 81 Mysore University Journal, Mysore.
- 82 Sanskrit College Magazine, Government Sanskrit College, Mysore.
- 83 The Journal of the Mythic Society, Mysore Road, Bangalore.
- 84 Rama Varma Research Institute, Trichur, (S. India)
- 85 Puratattva, Gujarat Puratattva Mandir, Ellis Bridge, Ahmedabad
- 86 "The Philosophical Quarterly," C/o Indian Institute of Philosophy, Amalner (East Khandesh).
- 87 Baroda Library, Baroda.
- 88 The Vishvabharati, Shantiniketan, Bolpur (Bengal).
- 89 The "Sanskrit Bharati," Burdwan (Bengal).
- 90 Telugu Academy, Coconada.
- 91 Superintendent of Archaeology, Jammu and Kashmir State, Jammu.
- 92 "Yogamimansa" Kunjavana, Lonavala, G. I. P. Ry.
- 93 The "Prabuddha Bharata," Mayavati, Dist. Almora, Himalayas.
- 94 Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna.
- 95 Revue Historique de l'Inde Francaise, Pondicherry.

- 96 Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry.
- 97 Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, (Bengal).
- 98 " Man in India, " Church Road, Ranchi, B. N. Ry.
- 99 Journal of Burma Research Society, (Bernard Free Library),
Rangoon.
- 100 Research Departement, Jammu and Kashmir State, Srinagar.
- 101 Sri Agamodaya Samiti, Gopipara, Surat.
- 102 The Tanjore S. M. Library, Tanjore.
- 103 The Curator for the publication of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Trivan-
drum.
- 104 Secretary Bombay Historical Society, Exchange Building, Sprott
Road, Bombay.
- 105 Bharat Itihasa Samshodhak Mandal, Sadashiv Peth, Poona No. 2.
- 106 Director of the Archaeological Researches in Mysore, Mysore.

APPENDIX II

List of Members of the Institute

(Brought upto 6th July 1931)

(i) *Honorary Members*

- 1 Abhyankar, M. M. Vasudevshastri, Sadashiv Peth, Poona No. 2 10-9-18.
- 2 Jinavijayaji, Muniraj, Puratattva Mandir, Ahmedabad. 16-4-21.
- 3 Levi, Dr. Silvain, 9, Rue Guy de la Brosse, Paris. 12-9-26.
- 4 Lüders, Dr. H., 20 Sybelstr, Charlottenberg, Berlin. 6-7-28.
- 5 Modi, Dr. J. J., B. A., Ph. D., 211, Pilot Bunder Road, Colaba, Bombay. 10-9-28.
- 6 Pathak, Dr. K. B., B. A., Ph. D., 1028, Sadashiv Peth, Poona No. 2. 6-7-24.
- 7 Seal, Dr. Sir Brajendranath, Vice-Chancellor, Mysore University, Mysore. 12-9-26.
- 8 Thomas, Dr. F. W., M. A., Ph. D., 161, Woodstock Road, Oxford. 12-9-26.
- 9 Winternitz, Dr. M., I, Klementinum Prague (Czechoslovakia). 30-2-25.
- 10 Mrs. Rhys Davids, President, Pali Text Society Chipstead, Surrey, England, 6-7-31.

(ii) *Patrons*

- 11 Badridas, Rai Bahadur, 152 Harrison Road, Bada Bazar, Calcutta. 5-2-20.
- 12 Broacha, A. M., Esqr. C/o Shapoorji Tullackchand & Co. 51 Appollo Street, Bombay. 10-4-20.
- 13 Shet Chhaganlal Walchand, Walkeswar, Bombay. 21-7-20.
- 14 Lady Chinubhai, Ahmedabad. 10-9-18.
- 15 Cowasji Dinshaw, Esqr. 24, Meadow's Street, Bombay. 6-4-20.
- 16 Shet Devakaran Moolji, Princess Street Bombay. 6-4-20.
- 17 Gaikwar, His Highness Sayajirao Maharaja, Baroda, 10-9-18.
- 18 Ghorpade, Shrimant Narayanrao Babasaheb. Chief of Ichalkaranji, Ichalkaranji. 10-9-18.
- 19 Gowaikar M. Y., Esqr., 20, Narayan Peth, Poona No. 2. 21-1-19.
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